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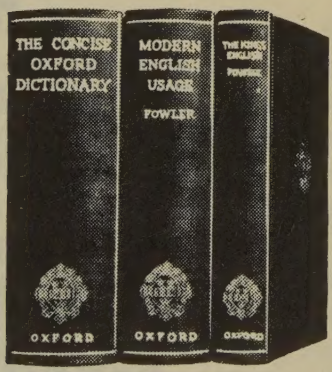

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THE WAY OF THE WORLD

DEFENCE OF COMPROMISE

by VERNON BARTLETT

SPAIN, we have always told ourselves, was a quaint and picturesque country cut off from the rush of progress by the Pyrenees. Nothing that happened there could be of great importance to go-ahead nations like our own. We watched the struggles of the Spaniards towards literacy, liberty and democracy with a distant and condescending sympathy which must have been very galling to nationals of a country with so splendid a past.

We are paying for that condescension now. Spain has always been a country of extremes—political, religious and climatic. Events within her borders are making it almost intolerably difficult for us to avoid becoming extremists in our turn. The diminutive General Franco, leader of the Spanish rebels, has unwittingly severed more friendships outside his own country than any other man in after-war Europe except Lenin, Hitler and, possibly, Mussolini.

The struggle in Spain is not primarily one between fascism and democracy. It is not even one between fascism and communism. There are, among the supporters of General Franco, very many people who are no more fascist than Mr. Anthony Eden. He has the enthusiastic praises, for example, both of the German newspapers that have been most insulting to the Vatican and of the Roman Catholic newspapers that have been most bitter about Herr Hitler. In the Popular Front there are a few liberal-minded intellectuals who believe fervently in democracy and a few communists who believe fervently in Marx and Stalin, but there are also anarchists and regionalists who hate democracy and communism alike.

And yet this struggle has rendered the struggles between democracy and dictatorship and between communism and fascism in-

C

finitely more acute outside the frontiers of Spain. It has helped fascism a lot, communism a little, and democracy not at all. The problem for the dictatorships is a relatively easy one—how can they most effectively give support to the side in Spain which they happen to favour? The problem for democracies is infinitely more complicated—should they resist the dictators of the Right in the belief that a communist Spain would benefit the Spanish masses even though it abolished the Spanish democrats, or should they once again refrain from resistance in the hope that later on there will be a better issue over which to make a stand?

Nothing about the British reaction to the Spanish war has been more significant than the way in which class has counted for more than country. An extremist Spain can be of no advantage to a middle-of-the-road Britain. But of the two extremes a victory of the Left would be demonstrably the less dangerous. And yet, because the Madrid Government depends upon the support of a lot of men who wear no hats and no ties (Old School or any other variety), a very large section of the British middle classes want it to be defeated.

Why would its victory be the lesser danger? For a variety of reasons, only a few of which need be mentioned. It was a legally elected government, and it is not in the interests of the greatest Empire the world has known that legal governments should be overthrown by violence, even when they are incompetent. Our frontier is said by Mr. Baldwin to be on the Rhine, and it would obviously be a much more difficult frontier to defend, in the event of a westwards attack, if the French were compelled to send valuable divisions to the Pyrenees to guard against a pro-German Spain. A rebel victory over Madrid would certainly upset the balance in the Western Mediterranean by giving Germany or Italy such control over the Balearic Islands or Spanish Morocco that Gibraltar would become a picturesque anachronism. The process of turning the Mediterranean from a British into an Italian sea would be complete.

And yet those British newspapers which take it upon themselves to shout loudest about their fervent patriotism are supporting the rebels by a campaign which takes no heed of the truth. And the British Government have glossed over the dangerous precedent of a non-intervention policy which puts legal authority and the rebels against it upon exactly the same footing. As one result, Liberal

tolerance is nearly as detested in Madrid as in Burgos or Seville. As another, the Right dictatorships in Rome, Berlin and Lisbon have concluded that it was safe to show scant respect for British and French appeals to everyone to play the game in the nice old gentlemanly way.

Furthermore, they were correct in their estimate of democratic willingness to compromise and to concede. In the Spanish dispute there can hardly be any doubt but that a decision by M. Blum and whoever runs the British Government to raise the arms embargo in order to assist Madrid and to protect their own ideals and interests elsewhere would have given the rebels an overwhelming victory. There would have been endless argument in countries where free speech is allowed about the wisdom of sending arms and the quantities that must be sent. There would have been no such argument in countries where public opinion is controlled. Italy and Germany would have poured in war materials for General Franco at a feverish rate and the Italian or German taxpayer would have had no choice but uncomplainingly to foot the bill. He would probably have done so almost with enthusiasm, for he would have believed that he was defending civilisation against communism.

There has been, in other words, no other alternative for the democracies than to press hard for a policy of non-intervention in the hope that the reactionary dictatorships would not defy the policy too openly and on too large a scale. But millions have asked themselves whether they were not encouraging democracy to commit suicide in the same way as Social-Democrats in Germany, by their weak but decent compromises, put themselves in prison or exile and their enemies in power. If they answered that question in the affirmative they ceased to be democrats and swung over to the support of the particular form of dictatorship which was least repugnant to them. They have had to do so at a time when the Moscow sentences against so many orthodox communists on such flimsy evidence has made many of them wonder whether there is, after all, so very much to choose between Soviet and Nazi methods.

But possibly their dilemma is not so desperate as it sounds. There is a great deal that is artificial about the present tendency to represent every political development as part of a gigantic struggle between fascism and communism. It is, in any case, a tendency which should be resisted. The Spanish war has divided public

opinion in this and other countries along lines of class feeling more than any event since the Bolshevik revolution. Madrid is the champion of the proletarian, and Burgos of the possessing, classes. But in fact the support given to the one side or the other is due at least as much to rival nationalisms as to rival conceptions as to how the world should be governed. Stalin when he talks against National Socialism or Hitler when he talks against communism is aiming above all at creating a more powerful Russia or a more powerful Germany. There can be no more effective slogans in the world today for building up armaments and alliances than anti-fascist or anti-communist ones. Must we, in Great Britain, be caught by either of these slogans ?

We are making the old mistake of over-estimating the solidity and durability of dictatorships. Within the last few weeks there has been talk of real or alleged subversive plots in Italy, Russia, and Portugal and of growing discontent in Germany now that the Olympic circus is over and there is not much bread. None of the dictators has slept comfortably. During that period Sweden, the most advanced democracy in the world, has maintained its position as the most prosperous country. Citizens of the two richest and most influential nations, Great Britain and the United States, have shown no sign of marching around with hands raised in stiff salute and bullying their racial or religious minorities except, on occasions, for economic reasons.

The easiest reply to a man who offends you is always to offend him back. To refrain from doing so is not necessarily a proof of cowardice. If it were there could be no civilisation, no progress and no law. The British Empire has been built up on compromise and it has lasted longer than any régime based on the suppression of individual freedom. Its occasional resorts to such methods of suppression invariably weaken it ; it would be difficult to deny this in the cases of India and Ireland and it may become difficult in the case of Palestine. There are certain limits of concession beyond which no democrat should go. He should be just as ready as the fascist or the communist to fight for his beliefs, but the very fact that one of the most important of those beliefs is that tolerance is a great quality should save him from being stampeded into either of the extremist camps. It is not in Spain alone that man's devotion to freedom is being put to the test.

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON

A doughtie knight was thridding through the plaine,
His path wigge-wagged athwart the grislie field,
Upon his helm there twirled a weather-vane,
Mildewed his harness showed, his lips were sealed,
And *Wayte and See* was blazoned on his shield.
I weet like palsied aspen shook his lance.
Whenas a damsel at his stirrup kneeled,
Forewarning of the dragon's dread advance
Know well the knight wox payle, then wynked and looked askance.

Eftsoons he spyed that blatant beaste of bayle,
All hung with lumps of flesh and gobbets raw,
Ne had the hardinesse to pull its tayle,
Much daunted by its reechy ravening maw.
The dragon crunched the damsel in its jaw
While quailed the knight upon that quaking bog,
Then sought anon to shake it by the paw,
Ne puissant push he dared, ne mightie jog,
But strook its horrid mayne and cried," Goode dogge, goode dogge!"

His streaming teares bewayled the damsel's fate,
Soyled by that filthie, foule and loathsome luste.
" Alas," he wept, " she is but dragon's bait!
Mark how it rends her flesh with deadlie thrust!
See how it chews her to a bloodie crust!
Note how it doth her chastity ransack!
Here stands the flower of chivalry nonplussed!
Oh, how her tender limbs doe wrythe and cracke!"
And ever wrung his handes and groaned " Alacke, alacke."

Then nimbly wyped his eyne and guerdon found
As newly-dubbed Sir Dragon's seneschell,
He squired his liege-lord to the Table Round,
Mopped uppe its chaps and fumed its stynking smell,
And on the mealie monster's scaly shell,
Rubbed its deare swastikas and faggots cleane,
And did such household service as to tell
Superfluous were, till at the last I weene,
The knight St. George, transmewed, became the Faerie Queene!

REYNARD.

THE OPEN FORUM

DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA

by KARL RADEK

In this section we publish, without necessarily sharing the opinions they set out, frank articles by men of international fame. Karl Radek, the best known publicist in Russia today, has for long been called the "mouthpiece of Stalin." It was, therefore, all the more surprising when his name was mentioned in connection with the Trotskyite plotters, sixteen of whom were recently executed. Karl Radek has been a member of the Committee which under Stalin's chairmanship prepared the new constitution of the U.S.S.R. He is, therefore, particularly qualified to explain its significance.

THE draft of the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. has been approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. Placed before the masses of the people for discussion, it represents a legal expression of those great changes which have taken place in the land of Soviets in the last years. Only by taking these changes into account is it possible to evaluate correctly the tremendous significance of the proposed Constitution.

In what do these changes consist ? The first of them consists in the fact that an agrarian country has become an industrial one. There has grown up an immense industry on a completely new technical foundation ; the working class has grown very much and not only in the sense that the number of factory workers has increased and their qualifications have improved ; the most important thing is that industrial production outweighs that of agriculture.

This industry gives not only means for constant improvement of the well-being of the working class but has provided means for the

creation of a powerful agricultural economy, operating upon contemporary technique. Thanks to this, it has become possible to create huge state grain and cattle factories, and the great majority of the peasants have understood the benefits of large-scale agriculture and, on a voluntary basis, have created a collective economy. If it be taken into account that the factories and the land belong to the State, these changes boil down to the fact that agriculture has been made a socialist industry.

The introduction into the villages of the most complicated machines, electricity and radio, the education of considerable sections of the peasant population in the utilisation of up-to-date apparatus, the growth of culture in the villages, thanks to the new conditions of life, thanks to the tremendous growth of the school system and the number of newspapers serving the villages—all this has bound the workers and the collective farm peasants together both in their living conditions and in their methods of productive work.

The New Intelligentsia

These economic and social changes have brought in their train changes in other spheres of life. Out of the working class and the peasantry has arisen the new intelligentsia, a section of society numbering millions and linked up with the Revolution in the closest fashion. This intelligentsia fills economic posts as engineers, technicians, managers and governmental posts as employees. This intelligentsia is a child of the Revolution. But the old intelligentsia, educated in the tsarist days, also could not fail to understand the significance of the past eighteen years. It has seen not only the crash of all attempts to overturn the Soviet system ; it has also seen that this system has ensured the development of the country in a material as well as a cultural direction. It has realised that the Soviet Government, as distinct from the tsarist, sees in science a most tremendous lever of social development and does everything in its power to favour the growth of science. The vast majority of the old intelligentsia have come close to the working class and the peasantry.

Finally, industrial development has allowed the Soviet Government to give a powerful impulse to the development of the backward peoples which in the Russian Empire were the object of colonial exploitation, and to the development of industry in the Caucasus, in

Central Asia, in Siberia. It is sufficient to point out the flourishing state of the oil industry in Baku, the growth of irrigation in Central Asia and the building up there of a powerful textile industry, the development of Magnitogorsk, Kuznetsk, etc., to make clear to what an extent the Soviet Government has raised the well-being and the cultural level of formerly backward nations. This could not fail to create among all these nations the feeling that the new system assured them a national development and prosperity which were formerly unimaginable.

The new Constitution draws the conclusions from these facts. The Bolsheviks never looked upon the dictatorship of the proletariat otherwise than as upon the form of democracy for the toiling masses. But this, in the first place, signified the necessity of temporarily depriving of democratic rights those sections of society which, expropriated by the Revolution, could not fail to oppose the building up of socialism.

No More Special Rights

In the second place, in view of the fact that the struggle for socialism had only begun and that it was still necessary to overcome tremendous difficulties before the results of the Revolution became visible, waverings on the part of a considerable section of the peasantry were inevitable. Therefore, in order to secure a constant course in the direction of socialism it was necessary temporarily to give the working class, which stood firmly for socialist reorganisation, formal advantages in the elections for Soviet organs. Nowadays the necessity for depriving of electoral rights the representatives of the former owning classes has disappeared, as has the necessity for electoral privileges for the working class.

Representatives of the city bourgeoisie and the former landlords who are still living in the U.S.S.R. are an inconsiderable minority, and have for a long time past taken their place as employees.

The basic mass of the clergy of various religious sects has lost its influence on the vast majority of the population, and no longer has the schools in its hands. As far as the most extensive bourgeois section is concerned, namely the kulaks (capitalistic peasants exploiting hired labour), that has been broken up, with the aid of the main mass of the peasantry, and to a great extent re-educated.

The interior forces of the counter-revolution have been broken up and dispersed ; triumphant socialism does not engage in revenge for the past. The granting of electoral rights to all opens the path to equal rights and equality of participation in the new life to the representatives of the one time exploiting classes. Only those are deprived of electoral rights who a court has shown to have acted harmfully for society, and whom the court by its sentence has deprived of the right to take part in the deciding of social affairs.

As far as the privileges of the workers in the sphere of electoral rights are concerned, they also have lost significance. It is open to no doubt that the collective farm peasantry is no less interested than the working class in further industrialisation which will give it the means to attain the cultural level of the workers. It is interested in the strengthening of the Red Army, which consists in the main of its sons, and in the defence of the new village from the encroachments of foreign enemies. The collective farm village stands so firmly now for the Soviet régime and Socialist construction that sociälism will suffer no loss if the peasantry are allowed voting rights completely equal to those of the workers. It goes without saying that the masses of the working intellectuals are for the strengthening of socialism, which treats them so solicitously, and under which the role of science grows with every year.

Freedom of the Press

But it is a matter not only of the introduction of equal, direct, secret and general voting rights for all citizens who have attained the age of eighteen years in the elections for all elected organs, beginning with the local Soviet of the Toilers and ending with the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This democratisation of the country is ensured by freedom of the Press, of speech, of assembly, of demonstration ; freedom of organisation for cooperative, trade union, sport, scientific societies, which in sum total provides us with a tremendous, perpetually organised people for which elections are only the apogee of organised influence upon the social development of the country. The right of putting forward candidates for all elective posts in the Soviet Union is given by the Constitution to all these mass organisations, and not only to the organisations of the Communist Party.

The very same reasons which have led to the changes in electoral law have brought about the necessity of reorganising all the organs of

leadership of the Republic. Formerly in the quickly changing circumstances it was necessary hurriedly to publish laws, change them, to rehash the administration of the country. Nowadays the very complicated economic life of an industrial country, which has settled its basic problems, demands a prudent attitude to established relationships and forms of life. Legal forms become necessary which ensure a careful working out and preparation for each alteration. Therefore the Constitution establishes as the only legislative organ the Council of the Union created on the basis of general, equal, secret and direct voting rights, and the Council of Nationalities, consisting of the representatives of the Union Republics, the National Republics and districts. Only on the basis of the decision of these two Chambers, mutually composing the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are laws to be made. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., which operates between the sessions of the legislative organs, is unable to make laws; it can only interpret them. The Council of Peoples Commissars—an administrative organ, elected by the Supreme Soviet—can issue only decisions and ordinances on the basis of existing laws.

Such are the main changes which are proposed by the new Constitution. In the course of the following months the masses of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. will discuss this Constitution at hundreds of thousands of meetings and will propose those changes which they consider necessary. In November, a Special Congress of Soviets will decide the final form of the new Constitution; simultaneously the republics which compose the Union will work out their constitutions on the model of the Union Constitution. The great country of labouring folk will, in the course of this year, from Berezina to the Pacific Ocean, from the North Sea to the Black Sea and the Pamir Mountains, reconstruct its political edifice, basing it upon the firm foundations of socialist economy. On the front of this building will be seen the old slogans of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; but these slogans will have been given a new content and will be no longer promises but actualities.

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TOUCHY FILM CENSORS

Vienna has censored the Charlie Chaplin film where he waves a red flag. We suppose it won't be long before Russia will take offence at Shirley Temple's going to Sunday school.—*Boston Evening Transcript, U.S.A.*

FOREIGN BODIES

by FLOODLIGHT

Unlike film stars, neither statesmen nor diplomats hire publicity agents to tell the world their taste in toothpaste or their views on the modern girl. Hence the little human eccentricities that lurk behind the imposing figures officially presented to the world are seldom known. The ubiquitous journalist, however, sees the lay figures as human beings, and realises how important a part their foibles play in the making of world-shaking decisions. It is a journalist who here contributes the first of a series of personal notes, which we are introducing in order to give flesh and blood to the men whose names appear so often in our political articles.

King and "Codfish"

WHILE visiting Athens recently, the King did General Metaxas the honour of having tea with him at the British Legation. His conversation with the latest recruit to the corps of dictators lasted two hours and was conducted in German. The King, of course, speaks that language fluently, and to the General it is second nature, as he was once a shining light of the famous "Kriegsakademie" in Berlin.

Some years ago the General had to fly the country for taking part in a subversive movement. His method of escape was to hide in a cargo of salted cod on board a Newfoundland schooner. Ever afterwards friends and enemies alike have called this unassuming little chain-smoker the "codfish."

"Man or Mouse?"

On failing to be re-elected to the Chamber in 1928, the General withdrew from public affairs, saying that he preferred to live like a man rather than remain a politician. His ambition was not to be realised: the rebellion last year brought him back to the arena, where he tried to make up for the feebleness of political life by a Prussian attitude towards the defeated Venizelists.

For the time being the moderates held his hand. But now he has shown himself man enough to discover the inevitable Communist plot and reach the goal he has constantly disavowed yet always had in

in mind, a dictatorship *à l'italienne*. Yet, taking all in all, Greece has given King George II and democracy a surprisingly long run for their money—in fact over eight months.

Gagging the Greeks

The Jimmy Walker of Athens, the genial and anglophil mayor, M. Kotzias, was also present at the tea party. An old friend of the General's, he played a great part in setting up the monarchic décor and headed the delegation which assured King George in London last winter that his main condition for returning had been fulfilled, and that all parties wanted him back. This ignored the Republicans, who had found voting rather awkward, as large bodies of troops were marched from polling-booth to polling-booth with orders to carry out their electoral duties as often as possible on behalf of the King.

A former journalist and owner of a political rag, M. Kotzias can now give the " codfish " any hints he may need on perfecting one of the tightest censorships in Europe.

Titulescu's Toothbrush

The reporters who crowded round M. Titulescu for an interview the other day, after he had lost his seat in the Rumanian Cabinet, should have asked whether he had also mislaid his toothbrush.

This backbone of the Little and Balkan Ententes is very superstitious and knows that this article of toilet is closely linked with the fate of whatever he is engaged in. Or so the gossips say. On his way to the Montreux Conference on the re-fortification of the Dardanelles, he suddenly stopped the special carriage which is hitched on to the great European expresses whenever he wishes to travel abroad, and sent a secret service officer haring back to his villa in the outskirts of Bucharest. Tongues wagged. Had the vital documents vanished? No, only a toothbrush. But, without it, Titulescu knew that the Conference was doomed.

Heavy-Footed

Aptly described as English in sympathy from the feet to the neck but French above, M. Titulescu won a great reputation for repartee when Minister in London. One evening at dinner he was told by Lady Willingdon that an elephant cost £1,700 a year to keep.

"About as much as a Rumanian Minister," Titulescu remarked, "but it does less harm."

Government by Telephone

Titulescu has been floored, but is a long way from taking the count, say the Bucharest gossips. He is tough, even though his sensitiveness to cold is such that he could only discover when he was Minister in London, one table at one restaurant at which he was out of the draught. But it seems as if the days of directing his country's foreign policy from a hotel suite at St. Moritz, Montreux or Cap Martin were over. At one time the long-distance wire fizzled as he told King Carol that either Madame Lupescu must stop meddling in politics or he would leave Rumania in the lurch. But aggressiveness makes enemies. King Carol, Madame Lupescu, Germany, Italy and Poland, all hope that the latest blow will have proved a knock-out.

The Flying General

Health is the strong man of Hungary's weak spot. Tough, red-faced General Goemboes, who is now in a sanatorium near Munich, undergoing a cure for kidney trouble, has already had to give up the portfolio of the War Ministry and may soon have to withdraw from the dictatorship altogether.

When he first came to power in 1929, the Hungarians took a great pride in him. "He is an example," they said, "of how we can go one better than America." This was an allusion to his flight from Hungary during the Karolyi régime. Captain Lindbergh, they pointed out, flew from New York to Paris and was only made a Colonel: Goemboes flew from Budapest to Vienna and returned a General. The title was confirmed a few weeks ago when he was formally appointed a real General of Infantry.

All the Winners

The Egyptian delegation greatly enjoyed their recent visit to London. That elegant if portly demagogue, Nahas Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt, had good reason to smile on being banqueted by a Government that not long before had had him deported to the Seychelles. In addition, one of the Performing Pashas, as the Treaty Troupe were called, a keen follower of the turf in his own country, backed six winners at Gatwick, including a ten to one chance.

At home in Egypt, Nahas is credited with two political foibles. He is fond both of acknowledging the cheers of the crowd, even when it forgets to cheer, and also of turning funerals into popular demonstrations, much to the annoyance of the mourners. But his worst enemies admit him to be incorruptible.

Diplomat's Right Turn

That slim, nervous intellectual, Señor Lopez Olivan, discussed with me the other day the newly published Government decree " purging " the Spanish diplomatic service. We agreed that it had come rather late, as so many diplomats with right-wing traditions and only mildly left-wing sympathies, such as Señor Olivan himself, had already resigned—or, as some say, kept a shrewd eye on the weather. But the ex-Ambassador in London was too strained to talk politics for long. Instead we lingered over the fine Byzantine icons he picked up in Rumania. By now, they have left the heavily splendid setting of Belgrave Square for the quiet country house where the Olivans hope to weather out the storm.

Another charming intellectual—a professor this time and not a diplomat *de carrière*, has taken over the Embassy. Pablo de Azcarate, with his domed and bald head and friendly smile, was one of the most popular members of the League Secretariat. His friends who are rather astonished that he should have become Ambassador for so " Leftist " a government, probably underestimate the influence of his son's enthusiasm for Moscow.

Cum Grano

A siren wailed near the British Embassy in Madrid. The loungers rushed to take shelter. The siren continued wailing in a different key. But no aircraft were seen, no bombs dropped. The loungers crept back into the street: Mr. Ogilvie Forbes, British Chargé d'Affaires and rock of sound diplomatic sense, was keeping cool with a tune on the bagpipes.

BEAVERBROOK'S " GOOD THING "

LORD BEAVERBROOK has his nerve to propose that the United States and Great Britain enter a military alliance. Fortunately—for both America and Britain—he is not the Government. We can laugh so much more merrily at his naiveté. —*St. Louis Post-Dispatch, U.S.A.*

OPEN REPLY TO MRS. SWANWICK

by ULYSSES

(*Our Geneva Correspondent*)

Dear Mrs. Swanwick,

Thank you for your letter. I am sorry that I puzzled you. I will try to make myself clear, but before I do so a small personal explanation is perhaps necessary.

The views which I express are not my own in the sense that they represent my individual opinion as to what should be done in this distracted Europe. If they were merely my own they would probably not be worth printing. What, however, I try to do is to express such of the opinions voiced in Geneva on the international situation as seem to me to be the most widely and generally held. I am an observer, whether an accurate one or not I cannot say, but I can with a good conscience maintain that anything which I have put down in the past, or which I may continue to record, is being said by at least a large number, the majority in fact, of the persons with whom I come into contact. Do not, however, think that I do not believe in the views I have expressed, particularly those to which you take exception. I do believe in them and am ready to defend them. Only they are not entirely my own, that's all.

Now to your observations. You ask me what States I should include among those who should be called upon to apply military Sanctions if necessary. And you go on to cast doubt on the contention that a challenge should be issued, Great Britain taking the lead in doing so, on behalf of democracy to all those who consider the democratic principle immoral. You then proceed to give a list of those States which in your opinion would not apply Sanctions and which would presumably accept this apparently crazy challenge of democracy. Well, of course, if all States were to accept a lead by Great Britain, or by any other Power, towards the fulfilment of the provisions of the Covenant, there would be no problem. It is just because there are some who would not, and who would prefer to go their own way that the problem exists. But is that any reason for refusing to face it, for refusing in other words to call those States even more into the open than their own actions have already done ? If you

add up the number of democracies strictly so called, and compare them with the number of dictatorships strictly so called, I do not deny that, from a mathematical point of view, the latter may outweigh the former. However, the nations of the world have a disconcerting habit of refusing to be ruled by arithmetic. When, therefore, I ventured to urge that Great Britain should give a lead to the democratic States, I certainly considered it to be not improbable that that lead would be followed in certain instances by a number of States where democracy is momentarily, but by no means permanently, dead.

For example, had Britain moved in the matter of sanctions against Italy further than she did, she would certainly have had the support of Turkey and Jugoslavia, admittedly not democracies, and she could certainly count on the support of these or other similarly governed States in the next crisis.

You seem to forget one difficulty which appears to me to be inherent in all systems of dictatorships. A dictator can fool all his own people some of the time, perhaps for a very long time, but he cannot fool the people belonging to another dictator. The main purpose of dictatorships is to ensure the 100 per cent. fulfilment of what they decide should be their country's aims. It, therefore, rarely happens that they can successfully combine. You will always have on the side of democracy a number of dictators who dislike Hitler or Mussolini or Stalin more than they do the British Empire. Why, then, should not democracy have a shot at dividing and ruling with just as many chances of success as the dictators ?

Democracy looks to Britain

But this savours too much of hand-to-mouth politics, the curse of the present day. I should like to put the matter on a different plane. Whether you believe it or not, such observation as I possess leads me to the profound conviction that the small democratic States left in the world, eagerly, even passionately, hope that the country which founded modern democracy will be prepared to stand by it now that it appears to be *in extremis*. They do not yet believe that Britain will succumb to that curious herd instinct which is the root cause of the modern dictatorships. It is, perhaps, even more in the field of what, for want of a better expression, I would call the development of the human spirit, than in that of pure politics, that they look for a lead.

It is the suppression of the individual, his ruthless subordination to the instincts of the herd, that they dread. It is the influence of the wireless and of the controlled press, which has done so much to put Hitler and Mussolini and the rest where they are at present, and which has successfully destroyed art and humour in half the world, that is driving them to despair. For they see perhaps more clearly than the average citizen of Britain, who is materially so much more prosperous than they are, where this herd instinct is leading.

Where does Britain Stand ?

To return to our politics. If Great Britain is not to give a lead, if she is to continue the policy of " laissez-faire " in the international field, what solution do you suggest for present ills ? It does not seem to me from your letter that you are satisfied with the state of the world. Perhaps you are. If so, then there is no more to be said. But if you are not, what is Great Britain to do ? Continue to sit on the fence ? Adopt a policy of isolation ? Be prepared to hand over any pieces of the Empire which any dictator may at any time demand ? And if she follows any of these courses, or a combination of them, will the peace of the world be any more secure than it was ? You who live in England presumably know better than I, whether the British people will be content to abandon the Empire or a part of it without a struggle. Those who live on the Continent, whether they are French, Swiss, Scandinavian, German, Italian, or Russian, do not think that they will. It is for that reason that they believe Britain's opportunity to have come. It is for that reason that it is constantly said in my presence, " The British will have to move ; they cannot go on shilly-shallying for ever." And Mr. Baldwin's declaration that the eastern frontier of England is the Rhine is taken to mean that Britain is prepared to protect that frontier. All right then. Is it not better for her to say so openly ? Is it not better for her to take a leaf out of the books of the dictators and make a statement of policy which can be understood even by the most fanatical fascist in Berlin or Rome ?

The effect of Sir Samuel Hoare's speech a year ago was so great precisely because it contained, or was thought to contain, a definite statement—the outline of a plan based on the proper observance of the Covenant. You have misunderstood what I meant when I said England should give a lead. My whole point was and is that if she

gives a strong lead war will not result because she and her true or pseudo-democratic allies will not be challenged. I, and those who think with me, believe that Britain's voice upraised in the cause of democracy, will not be that of one crying in the wilderness. And, what is more, is it by any means so certain that America is going to hold aloof ? Do not forget that only a few days before the publication of the Hoare-Laval plan America was offering co-operation with the League on a scale larger than anything suggested by the Committees of the Council or the Assembly.

I fully agree with you that President Wilson's " war to make the world safe for democracy " failed in its object. It is surely obvious that war is not the best instrument to make the world safe for democracy, but in a world which is far from rejecting war are democracies to fall tamely and without a struggle beneath the shadow of its menace ?

Democracy Still Strong Enough

I am not preaching a crusade against Germany or Italy, nor indeed have I ever preached it. An increase in the number and ferocity of dictators may well prove to be the result of the next war. But only if democracy is beaten or if, after victory, it makes the same mistake as it made in 1919 and forces on the vanquished a peace like that of Versailles. The point that I have tried to make is that the force of democracy backed by Great Britain is still as strong as the force of those States who passionately reject it. I may be wrong. You think that I am. You even go so far as to hint that because Germany has not committed any act of aggression since the War she will never commit any act of aggression. Do you really believe this ? Germany has not committed any act of aggression up till now, for the simple reason that she has not had the means at her disposal to do so successfully. But are you prepared to maintain that the eight hundred millions she has already spent on armaments (I quote from memory a figure not yet challenged, given by Mr. Winston Churchill), has been spent merely to gratify a childish love of display, and that the thousands of tanks and aeroplanes she now possesses will only be used for ceremonial marches up and down the Unter den Linden ?* And if she is so peacefully inclined why are so many nations, including even the peace-loving

* Can her attitude over Danzig be described as lacking in the aggressive spirit ?

Swiss, arming so feverishly ? Are their fears entirely vain ? Are they committing their people to ruinous taxation because of a bogey conjured up by their too vivid imagination ?

You say that vast masses, especially of the young and active, find in the totalitarian State scope for their idealism and service ? Idealism for what end ? Service for what purpose ? For the triumph of that suicidal conception " my country right or wrong." There are others, however, whose ideas of service and idealism are different. Seven hundred such have just met in congress in Geneva ; they came from thirty-six different countries ; Germany and Italy were not represented but Soviet Russia was. I wonder what you would have thought of them had you heard their discussions. The ideals they expressed were so different from those current in the two chief dictator countries of the world, that it was as though they came from a different planet. You continue with the remark that many of the dissatisfied in all these countries have been liquidated. Perhaps when all of them have suffered this fate the process of liquidation will be extended outside the boundaries of the totalitarian State into the international field.

Revision by Consent

That there is a case for the drastic revision of the Treaty of Versailles. No one but a fool would deny any more that the " have-nots " must ultimately receive satisfaction at the hands of the " haves." To allow them to win that satisfaction at the point of the sword, however, is one thing, to give it as the result of a bold and open advocacy of the democratic principle is another and, I am convinced, both a surer and safer way. Whether this can be done without fighting I do not know, though I believe and hope that it can.

May I finally draw your attention to the article appearing in the current issue of the *World Review* entitled " England's Responsibility to Democracy " and quoted from the *National-Zeitung* of Basle ? " The fate of European democracies depends upon which side England comes down," says the writer. You may not believe this to be the case, but I assure you that there are many hundreds, indeed thousands of people living on the Continent at this moment who do believe it and I for one am not ashamed to be of their number.

Yours very sincerely,

" Ulysses."

THE NATIONS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES

NEUTRALITY OR BLOCKADE?

PLANES FOR SPAIN!

Speech by Maurice Thorez, General Secretary of the French Communist Party, in Paris.

Should Europe regard the issue in Spain as one between democracy and fascism? The French Communists, who are strenuously working for abandonment of the policy of non-intervention, portray the struggle as one between Hitler and France. Here is the greater part of the fiery speech made by the French Communist leader, which has been reprinted and distributed throughout France

OF course we are one with the workers, with the democrats who, under the leadership of the legal government, are resisting the Fascist rebels, agents of Hitler and Mussolini.

Yet it is true that, from the very beginning, we Communists have declared that it is not merely a question of sympathy and solidarity towards the Spanish people, but one where the interests of our country are at stake, the very future of our people.

Nobody, then, amongst us, except traitors in the pay of Hitler, can deny the threat of encirclement of France, the aim pursued by the dictator of Berlin through the agency of the Francos and the Molas.

The issue is not between democracy and fascism ; it is the menace of Hitler to France and peace. Hitler wishes to occupy all strategical positions in readiness for the war which he is preparing. Hitler wishes to erect against our country a third front in a region which has not known war for more than a century.

To explain the aims of Hitler I propose to read some extracts from

the book which our central committee has chosen for study in all party schools: *Mein Kampf*, written by Hitler. He writes: "It must be clearly realised that the mortal and inexorable enemy of the German people is, and continues to be, France. It matters little who has ruled or who is ruling in France" . . . Hitler goes on to declare that in our country "the invasion by the negroes is making such rapid progress that one can speak of the birth of an African State on European soil."

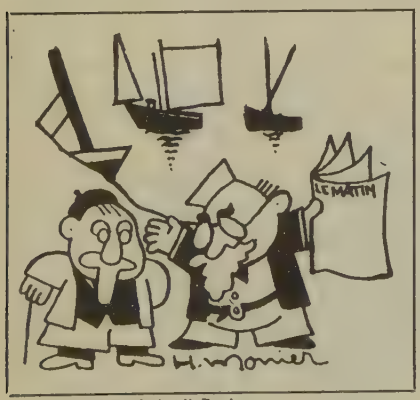
I wish to repeat what I have already declared, in the name of our party in this very hall, just after the coup of March 7: "We far prefer an honest negro to a Hitler who dishonours humanity."

Is it in the name of the white races that Hitler advises Franco to bring over to Europe our Arab and Moroccan brothers to fight the Spaniards on their own soil?

The same hypocrisy is revealed when, under the pretext of defending the Catholic religion, the Spanish rebels arm their Mohammedan soldiers against the Basque Catholics who are fighting by the side of Democrats, Socialists and Communists for the defence of the Spanish republic.

* * *

Yes, we are for non-intervention but, I say frankly, we are also against the blockade imposed on republican Spain. We are against that so-called neutrality which, in present conditions, can only facilitate



"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"If the League of Nations does not intervene, the sanctions against the Spanish Government may prove to be valueless!"

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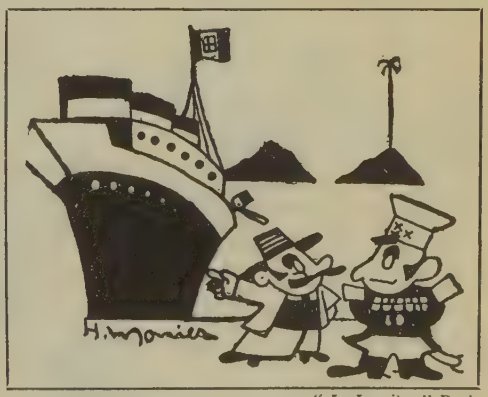


"La Lumière," Paris

"—We're saved, general! There's a cargo of storm-guitars and repeating mandolins!"

2

the Fascist rebellion and favour Hitler's dark designs for aggression.

We declare that the most elementary rules of international law authorise freedom to trade in favour of the Spanish republic.

We demand publicly for the legal government of the Spanish Republic, elected by universal suffrage according to the will of the people and supported by an undeniable majority in the Cortes, we demand for that government the possibility of obtaining in France as many planes, guns and munitions as it desires.

We cannot possibly see how republican Spain, obliged to defend herself against a Fascist rebellion, can possibly be treated in a way in which even Italy, guilty of aggression against the Abyssinian people, was not treated.

It is a very serious matter for Spain. It is also a terrible precedent which cannot fail to help Hitler's plans.

Tomorrow, he will send his agents to work against the republican authorities in Czechoslovakia. Shall we then say: "Embargo, neutrality towards the Czech republicans as well as towards the Fascists armed by Hitler?"

Next it may be Rumania. Or Jugoslavia. Or Belgium.

Or it may be France herself. Tomorrow, Hitler will set his agents working in Alsace-Lorraine, and I ask, taking this vast assembly as my witness: "Will not the terrible precedent have been established in every one of the cases I have mentioned; neutrality towards the regular government as well as towards the rebels armed by Hitler?"

* * *

The decree for two years' military service in Germany means the creation of an army of 1,200,000 men in the service of the war-policy of Fascism.

The acceptance by Hitler and Mussolini of the embargo is accompanied by fresh demands: "We agree with non-intervention and the embargo, but a stop must also be put to campaigns of solidarity and sympathy and to collections in aid of the Spanish people."

They are not content with the bought papers which they publish in France. They would like to gag our press. They want to forbid our meetings.

Every day the *Temps* indulges in mean attacks against Socialist ministers who express, as they have the right and duty to do, their thoughts as militant Socialists in public meetings.

They would like to forbid collections; it is my duty on behalf of the Communist Party to protest against the arrest of collectors.

* * *

The government which has emerged from the victory of the Popular Front is not the government of the Popular Front, it is the government of France. It is possible and necessary in the difficult times through which we are passing that those who do not entirely agree with every point in the programme of the Popular Front, should be asked to collaborate in the common effort for peace and liberty.

We do not resign ourselves to the perspective of two blocks irreconcilably opposed to one another, leading to a civil war whose consequences would be terrible for our country, if only because of the menace of Hitler. And we Communists who have worked with such fierceness, even passion, to unite the working class in one Front, in a pact for unity of action, we who have not ceased to work for an international Front, who have worked to unite workers and peasants, revolutionaries and democrats, communists and socialists, radicals and republicans, who have stretched out our hands, not unsuccessfully,

Bolshevik to M. Blum:

"Another try, comrade. Remember if you can make the bell ring, you get a magnificent prize!"

"Je Suis Partout," Paris

to catholics, to former members of the Croix de Feu, we think it is possible to extend the front still further for the safety of our people.

We desire the French Front. Firstly, to ensure respect for republican laws, social laws and laws against factions which ought not to be able to camouflage leagues under the name of parties, who ought not to be able to publish their papers, whose chiefs ought to be in prison.

The warning of Spain shows that we must be liberal towards those workers who do not yet see eye to eye with us, and at the same time vigilant and firm towards the heads of factions whose aim is to foment civil war, and towards those of their numbers who even now still hold high positions in the State.

Secondly, a French Front for the protection of the national economy, to assure to the working class, thanks to the revival of economic activity, the blessings of wage-increases, holidays with pay, forty-hour week, etc. To establish on solid foundations, by our solicitude towards the middle classes, towards the peasants, shop-keepers, artisans and small business men, the cohesion and the strength of our people.

Thirdly, a French Front for the security and independence of the country. So that Hitler shall know that his insolent blustering and his war-like gestures in no way frighten us, that they only make us measure with more precision the immense task which faces all men of good will, so that the world shall escape from another bloody carnage.

We have no hatred, no resentment against any people; we are conscious of being the inheritors of a glorious past of which we will not allow ourselves to be deprived, for we Communists are proud to be French.

Thus the cause of the Spanish republic is our own cause. It is the cause of France. And it is the cause of freedom and peace.

That is why I say to you, in the name of the Communist Party and of its 242,000 members, all of one mind and with one purpose: Be with the republican fighters who are struggling and dying on the other side of the Pyrenees for the common cause.

Rise against the threats of Hitler and the treachery of his agents in France.

Demand freedom to trade for republican Spain.

Fight for peace with honour and dignity.

Fight for the independence and security of our land.

Fight by supporting our Spanish brothers; fight for a France free, strong and happy.

I SIMPLY WANT TO KNOW

by PIERRE BENARD

From "Le Canard Enchainé," Paris (Satirical Weekly)

I AM a pacifist. I don't want to make war, and still less to make others make it. Neither for Poland nor Russia. Not even for Spain. I won't fight.

But I *would* like to understand.

And when people talk to me about the crusade which will be started by the democracies against fascism, I don't understand. And I still won't fight.

Where is the crusade? I only see one. Blessed on the one hand by Hitler and Mussolini, and on the other by the Pope, it is the crusade which has thrown the Foreign Legionaries and Franco's "regulars" against Republican Spain.

One can make a big sign of the Cross to indicate submission, and be converted. It is politics. I understand that. But I should like the rest explained.

"Travaso delle Idee," Rome

French Volunteer: "Are you coming with us, comrade?"
Blum: "No, I must see to the non-intervention pact."

"La Lumière," Paris

"—They're just like those Abyssinian rebels, who want to steal Abyssinia from Mussolini."

They say to me : " We are neutral thanks to M. Yvon Delbos, and it is a big success for his policy and for France."

Bravo ! I am delighted. But where is the success ?

Some days ago Italy delivered 24 planes to the rebels, and Mr. Eden got chicken-pox. What am I to rejoice about ?

I am then told that, provided Mr. Eden doesn't now catch whooping cough and mumps, all will be well, and that if Italy has sent planes to Franco, it's because they had the right to, up to the 28th of August.

Why haven't we had the right to since the 28th of July ? It seems that is part of M. Delbos's success.

At the time of the Abyssinian war we were warned " Sanctions mean war."

We didn't adopt sanctions.

Today we are told : " To aid the Spanish republicans means to start a general conflagration." Of course. But, what's the difference

THE COMINTERN IN SPAIN

Spanish Officer : " But Soviet Russia promised not to intervene ! " Pilot : " That's my twin brother at it again—if I could only catch the fellow ! "

" Kladderadatsch," Berlin

between M. Delbos and M. Laval ?

" The international situation demands . . . " they whisper.

Of course, one understands. One doesn't want to squabble. But one would have thought that, in order to bow to Mussolini's commands, it was scarcely necessary to bring in M. Blum. M. Laval would have done quite well . . .

WHY WE SHOULD HAVE RIFLES

From "El Liberal," Madrid

THE outcome of much of the fighting in the Civil War is indecisive because the opposing forces are equally matched ; with a few thousand more rifles in our lines, engagements would be sooner over and there would be less blood spilled.

Every available marksman must go up to the front, so that there shall be no repetition of the Medellin and Oropesa encounters, which were won by the loyalist forces of the Republic, thanks to effective collaboration by the air arm, yet revealed the idle absence in Madrid of rifles that should have played their part in the fighting line.

To the front, then, with every sharpshooter ! In order that the sedition shall be completely crushed ; that the war may be brought to an end ; or, at the least, that it should not drag on as long as it would,

"La Lumière," Paris
"Is the population all with us ?"
"Yes, everybody—we've shot the lot."

"Marianne"
"And if they broadcast 'Carmen' we will play the 'Mastersingers'."

Paris
"All civilians have been shot. We've saved up 69 miners for rainy days."

if our superiority over the insurgents both in men and munitions were not made to tell.

With regard to the second question—our right to arm—public opinion in every modern democracy has declared itself against the extraordinary conception of neutrality which certain Governments have chosen to read into the non-intervention pact. These Governments are precisely the ones that are doing everything in their power to abet the fascist rising with arms, money, and munitions. From the very first the link between the outlaws and international fascism has been reprehensibly clear.

So-called neutrality is observed in discrimination against the legitimate Government of the Republic by the Cabinets of those nations that are themselves mos' friendly toward our people. The France of the *Front Populaire* upholds this neutrality, whereas Portugal —although her attitude appears to dissatisfy the British Government— does not.

Such things must not be. The Governments of the anti-fascist nations in question are acting against the unequivocal will of their electorates when they treat the Government of the Spanish Republic in the same way as they deal with the mutineers. By adopting so fantastic an attitude they are establishing the legality of military revolts against legitimate and recognised authority. And with that lack of corporate feeling which is condemned by the universal conscience, they do all that is needed to countenance the spread of the fascist régime throughout Europe.

HOW THE "ALL-CLEAR" CAME TO MALTA

THE military authorities have issued a Notice which, for the inimitable nonchalance with which it dismisses what nearly proved to be one of the greatest tragedies in contemporary history, deserves more than passing attention. What the Notice says in so many words is that anyone who is disposed to help in removing the barbed wire defences which were put up last year all round the foreshore of the Island will be compensated according to schedule—to wit, three farthings for each picket (unbent), half-penny for each picket (bent), and eightpence for so many uncut lengths of barbed wire, though " persons claiming that wire is in uncut lengths must be prepared to unroll it and to re-roll it after proof ! " That, briefly, is what the Notice has to say. What it implies, however, is of far greater moment. Shorn of its careful arithmetic, the obvious anxiety it betrays lest some trusting soul at the Collecting Centre should be " done," it means that last year's great war scare may now be regarded as definitely over so far as this island is concerned.—*Report from Malta in the " Egyptian Gazette," Cairo.*

CARTOONS OF THE MONTH

THE VILLAGE POLITICIANS

"High time they all disarmed! If I've said it once, I've said it a hundred times, but I'm danged if they do it!"

"Simplicissimus," Munich

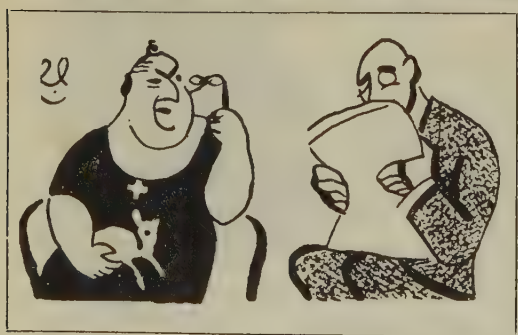
SWITZERLAND ARMS

"It's time I got a new umbrella, before that storm breaks!"

"Nebelspalter," Switzerland.

HITLER'S SHADOW GAME: THE BOLSHEVIK MENACE

Doeve in the "Haagsche Courant," The Hague



"La Lumière," Paris

"The *canaille* are singing the *Marseillaise*! What about the patriots?"

"They are singing *Deutschland Über Alles* . . ."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"And now we've lost the Blue Riband!"

"I told you, we must expect that sort of thing with this Popular Front!"

Western Democracy on the Situation:

"Let it burn! My decadence's charm is greater than my fear."

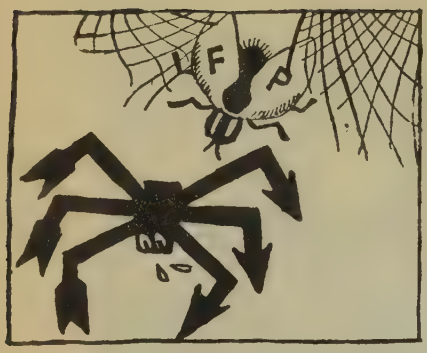
"Simplicissimus," Munich

"Marianne," Paris

"Yesterday, comma, General Rydz-Smigly . . . (that's written like a sneeze)"

"Le Canard Enchainé," Paris

"Look! *Shorts!*"



"La Libertad," Madrid

The Fascist Spider: "And I thought that little spider would be easy meat . . ."

"Humanité," Paris

Cervantes's Spain as Franco would like to see it.

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"And now, Signor Franco, with our giant Capronis you have nothing to fear from the enemy ambulances."

"Le Canard Enchaîné," Paris

"And if Franco wants a little Yperite, put down, as consigner, 'Gas Company'!"

"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

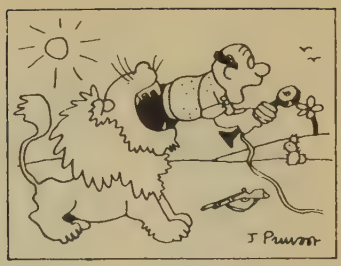
SIGHTSEEING IN GENEVA

" . . . and this, ladies and gentlemen, is 'President Wilson's Unfinished Symphony'!"

Low, "Evening Standard"

"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

BAH! A CIVILIAN!



"Marianne," Paris

PROFESSIONAL CONSCIENCE

"Pardon, dear listeners, the gurgles which you are about to hear. The lion is just going to swallow us, the microphone and me!"

"La Libertad," Madrid

"I beg your pardon, but nobody in this house will clean *these* boots."

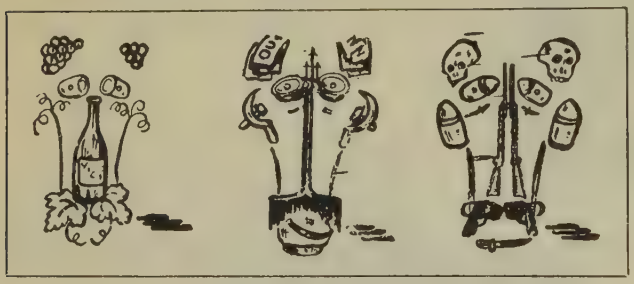
"St. Louis Post-Dispatch," U.S.A.

2 SPECTATORS AT THE RINGSIDE

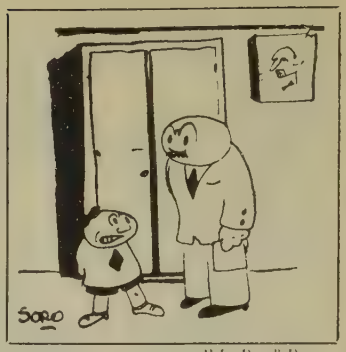
BLUM, OR THE EVOLUTION OF A FLOWER

"Cyrano," Paris

"His name was Blum (= flower). He grew up, wrote poetry, went in for politics (the flower grew fruit),



started a vineyard (but only drank water himself), became Stalin's valet, then Premier of France. As climax to this evolution, will he become Civil-War-Blum ? The communists will soon say !"

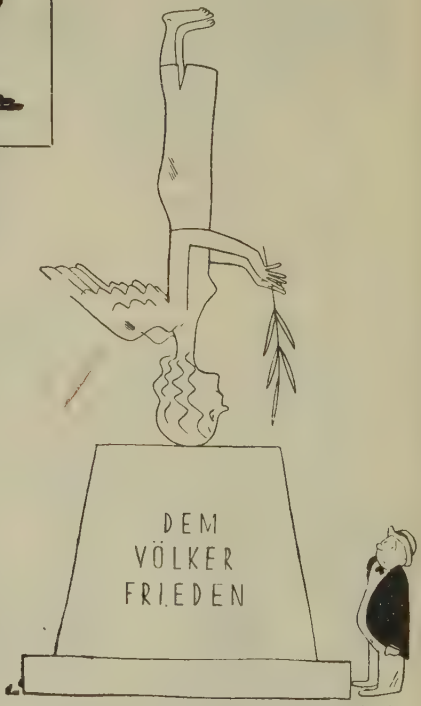


"Le Rire," Paris

"Your master gave me a very bad report of you !"
"Another spreader of tendentious rumours"

"Le Rire," Paris

"Highness, we have come to offer you the Throne !"
"What a bore ! Just when I wanted to go to the movies !"



"Nebelspalter," Switzerland

"Politicians have been at work here"

FERMENT IN NORTH AFRICA

MOROCCAN INTRIGUES

by GUNNAR LEISTIKOW

From "Social-Demokraten," Copenhagen

"Power Politics" in Morocco have already more than once brought Europe to the brink of war, and the Spanish rebellion threatens trouble there again. The shortage of troops after the transfer of the Foreign Legion to Spain by General Franco, might, it is feared, lead to a rising among the Riffs, which would give the Powers an excuse to intervene. Here a Scandinavian observer who knows the country well outlines the past story of intrigue among the Powers for control of Morocco

A Sultan who was perpetually being obliged to hold rebellious chieftains in check and to dispense bribes all round, was naturally constantly hard pressed for money; and the fiscal embarrassment of Morocco was not lessened when an unsuccessful war with Spain in 1860 ended with indemnities of twenty million piastres.

Morocco was, therefore, predestined to fall into the clutches of the colonising Powers who were best able to remedy the deficit in its exchequer. These Powers were England and France, the chief rivals in the struggle for supremacy in the Mediterranean and the Near East.

It was on no easy terms that the Sultan obtained his loan. Had it been a question of a loan between private individuals and not between free and sovereign states, it would have been called usury. Externally, the mask was retained: the loan of £2,500,000, which the Sultan Abd el Aziz obtained in London in 1904 was to bear interest at 5 per cent; in reality the rate was considerably higher, since the Moroccan Government had, naturally, to pay back £2,500,000, but received only £1,920,000. In the following years, when the Sultan obtained a few smaller loans in Paris, the terms were even harder; he had to bind himself to purchase, with part of the money, weapons for use against the rebels, from the French armaments firm of Schneider, and to give

60 per cent of Morocco's customs revenue as a pledge to France.

In 1904 the Franco-British tension was relieved by an entente. By a secret agreement England renounced her interests in Morocco, whilst France abandoned her aspirations in Egypt; nevertheless, in order to prevent the African coast opposite Gibraltar from coming into the hands of her earlier and perhaps also future rival, England provided that there should be set apart a sphere of interest for Spain, comprising the Moroccan Mediterranean coast. Spain had, ever since the Middle Ages, been in possession of the four ports, Ceuta, Penon de Velez, Alhucemas and Chaferinas on that coast.

But England had not been France's only competitor in Morocco. Europe's two youngest Powers, Germany and Italy, who had come too late to the colonial parcelling-out of the world, were amongst those interested. In a treaty, which resembled the later Anglo-French Pact, Italy gave up her interests in Morocco, whilst France recognised the then Turkish Tripoli as an Italian sphere of interest.

When War Nearly Came

It was more difficult to reach an agreement with Germany. One of her foremost armaments and steel firms, Mannesmann, appeared as a competitor to Schneider, and the Deutsche Bank enticed the Sultan with a credit of ten million marks on unusually favourable terms for a Sultan of Morocco. However, an agreement between the French and German manufacturers was just being arrived at when the British Government, fearing a Franco-German entente, intervened, and forced the French Government to frustrate a deal favourable to Germans and Frenchmen alike. A great outcry was raised in Germany. Kaiser Wilhelm demonstrated by landing at the Moroccan port of Tangier and making provocative speeches; the whole of Europe was convinced that a Franco-German war was imminent. But the war-clouds blew over, and in 1906 a pact was concluded between the Powers at Algeciras, it was agreed to recognise the independence of Morocco, and to pursue the "open door policy" by exploiting the former land of pirates; important privileges were conceded to France and Spain, viz. the right to reorganise the politics and the National Bank of Morocco.

Five years later, the open door was slammed to. France and Spain had, on account of numerous revolts, landed troops, and a

French contingent, with the pretext of the Sultan's cries for help, had even established itself comfortably in the capital, Fez. As a counter-move the German Government had a warship, the "Panter," anchored in the Moroccan Atlantic port, Agadir. The German Government's explanation for this "Panther's leap" was not convincing, since German interests were not particularly threatened, and it was again believed that war was unavoidable. But the second Moroccan crisis also ended with a treaty; Germany was satisfied with cessions of land in Togo, and France and Spain received Germany's blessing to divide the last independent Barbary state into two Protectorate Zones, which were established by a Franco-Moroccan and a Franco-Spanish treaty in 1912.

In the following years and during the World War things were comparatively quiet in Morocco, so that both Frenchmen and Spaniards had the leisure to commence the exploitation of the iron ore and other minerals, which were a stronger lure even than usury. But the quiet was not to last very long.

The Riff Rebellion

As, in the long run, it was too costly to purchase permission to mine ore from the semi-independent Berber tribes, the Spanish syndicate which worked the mines suggested to the Spanish Government that it should send Spanish soldiers to the districts in question and take the ore by force. The proposition met with the approbation of the Spanish Government, and 20,000 men were promptly despatched.

This event in 1920 gave rise to a whole series of revolts, first in the Spanish and then in the French zone, which only finally died out in 1934. The largest, lengthiest, and bloodiest of these insurrections is the one known as the Riff war, which was conducted by the tribes of the Riff Mountains under the leadership of Abd el Krim.

During these revolts, the intrigues of the Powers over Morocco, and especially the Spanish zone, revived. As we have seen, the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate resulted from the fact that the Powers grudged each other the strategically important stretch of coast opposite Gibraltar. Germany sought above all to prevent the Moroccan Mediterranean coast's becoming French, France, its becoming English, and England, its becoming either French or German. When the Riffs, after a time, drove the Spaniards to the sea, made

themselves masters of nearly the whole of the Spanish zone and proclaimed an independent Riff Republic, the old game began anew: the game of who should *not* have the coast.

Subsidies From All Quarters

So long as the Riffs only attacked the Sultan's Governors and the Spaniards, the French supported the rebels in the hope of becoming the successors of the Spaniards. It was only when Abd el Krim made it clear that he had no intention of his projected independent Riff State becoming a French Dominion that the francs ceased to flow. England had hitherto supported Spain in the struggle as a counter-balance to the French plans. As these now fell through owing to the obstinacy of Abd el Krim, the scene was changed. Now Abd el Krim paid for his requirements in sterling, and when in 1924 the revolt spread to the French zone, and fighting began between the Riffs and the French, in marks too. That Russia also subsidised Abd el Krim is not proved. Both the Russians and Abd el Krim deny it most emphatically; but at least the early part of the war coincides with the period when Moscow was open-handed with exotic revolutionaries, and in any case the Bolsheviks gave the Riffs their full moral support.

When the Franco-Spanish alliance, which, in fact, had been chiefly directed against England, had brought about the complete downfall of the Riffs, the situation veered again, and England placed herself once more behind Spain and supported the Spanish claim that the French troops should be withdrawn from the Spanish zone, whilst the Germans contented themselves with smuggling arms in German ships from Dutch ports to the rebels, who, on the South side of the Atlas mountains, continued the war against the French until two years ago.

Since then there has been quiet in Spanish Morocco. But for how long? General Franco has been obliged to draft picked men of the Foreign Legion to the Spanish army of occupation, in order to carry out the national revolution with the help of German, Italian, and White Russian mercenaries. Is it not an invitation to the restless nomadic tribes in the Riff to repeat the experiment of 1921, when 1,000 Riffs annihilated a Spanish army of 20,000 men? It is not to be anticipated that the mistrustful Orientals rely overmuch on the declarations of certain Powers, that they do not intend to meddle

in the Spanish civil war and land troops in Morocco's ports. Primitive peoples, unused to the voice of Geneva, are more impressed by the presence of foreign warships than by mere words.

FASCISTS AT WORK

From "L'Oeuvre," Paris

IT has been pretty well proved that General Franco, in return for Hitler's good services, has made an agreement with the Reich to cede to Germany, at the end of the Spanish war, Rio del Oro, the huge Spanish colony in the south of Morocco which juts far into our possessions in Northern and Equatorial Africa, and lies opposite the Canary Isles.

On the other hand, in Spanish Morocco, General Franco is pursuing a policy which contains the maximum of danger for French and even British possessions. In Berlin, foreign circles know it for a fact that every detail of this policy was suggested to Franco by the Wilhelmstrasse. Some days ago Franco called together all the Moroccan leaders. Before them all he posed as their liberator and promised them, when victory was his, an extreme measure of autonomy.

The Moroccan leaders demand, in effect, the right to control all educational institutions as well as the whole administrative and financial life of the colony of Spanish Morocco. General Franco made them promises, apparently quite seriously, and, as a token of his good faith, immediately authorised the publication of *El Rif*, a Moroccan nationalist newspaper advocating autonomy.

Croix de Feu Sympathies

The recruitment of natives for Franco in French Morocco is going on with the connivance of the authorities. The rebel recruiting agent, Dr. Cortès, goes freely to and fro between Tetuan and Fez, and confers regularly with the staff officers of the army of occupation, as well as with the native leaders.

A conference of Croix de Feu officers has been held at Meknès, at which many things were discussed, including the possibility of a "coup" . . . This mobilisation of Fascist elements is accompanied by intense propaganda among the natives.

At Rabat, the Croix de Feu go into the Arab districts and explain that the Blum government, run completely by Jews, does not repre-

sent France and that one day it will be necessary to march with them against it.

As for the Legion, its sympathies are obvious. Last month it marched in procession at Meknès, with its officers at its head, shouting : " Long live Hitler ! Down with the Jews ! "

The great poverty of the natives, the despondency of the settlers, the insolence of the fascists who are in control, and the lack of conscience of certain mercenaries who are ready to take part in the basest adventures, all make Morocco a soil well prepared, it seems, for a " pronunciamento."

SPANISH SOCIALISTS OFFER INDEPENDENCE

From "Solidaridad Obrera," Barcelona

THE latest news from the African continent reveals great unrest. There is open rebellion against the fascist forces. Acts of protest may be observed everywhere and occur with extraordinary spontaneity.

There is great intensity of feeling among the Mohammedans. African soil is once more experiencing great days. It would only need a spark to set this soil on fire, and to turn it into one huge furnace of freedom. Since the expulsion of Abd el Krim, Morocco has enjoyed peace. The leader of the dangerous rising, which cost two European Powers so much, was banished to the island of Réunion with his retinue and his harem.

The phenomenon we are now witnessing is the logical corollary of the great movement which is stirring among the faithful of Islam. In Palestine, they are waging a fight to the death against the Jews and their protectors. The kings or governments of Arabia, of Irak and of the Hedjaz, are persisting in their irredentist claims. The occasion is propitious for the natives of the Riff. The Power which once controlled a zone, graciously ceded as the result of a Treaty between France and Spain, is now engaged in civil war. There no longer exists an army to defend international law against the natives of the country.

General Franco signifies the end of the Treaties made by the Powers when they divided up the world. Absolutely nothing binds

the Riffs to the Spain which oppresses them, represented by the insurgent militarists. Our hundred per cent. internationalist ideal forces us to bring up the problem of colonies. We ought to consider the workers of the Riff as well able to look after themselves.

The fight against Fascism, which at this time is taking on an international character, makes it advisable for us to stir up rebellion amongst the " Douars " of the Riff by all the means at our disposal.

An irredentist spirit must be aroused in the sector occupied by Franco. This decision does not conflict with our principles. It is a question of freedom. We must be idealistic and generous. The Spanish revolution must act as a mirror in which the world proletariat can be seen. And we would be counter-revolutionaries if, though winning freedom for the workers of the Peninsula, we were to mete out different treatment to the Moroccan zone which was ceded many years ago to the Spanish monarchy.

The revolutionary law which will arise when the Spanish revolution is complete, will concede, as an essential principle of the new popular conquests, absolute liberty to the colonies.

HOW TO "HUMANISE" A COLONY

by SAMMY BERACHA

From " La République," Paris

In Algeria too there is unrest. There acute economic distress has given added incentive to demands from the natives for equal rights with their French rulers. With the advent of the Popular Front Government hopes rose. But even a Left-wing Government fears to go too fast in granting independence. Though some grievances have been remedied, particularly those connected with usury, which were responsible for intense anti-Jewish feeling among the Algerians, others are still outstanding. In the following two extracts, a writer shows the whole question of French imperialism is at stake, while the organ of Moslem opinion voices the local disappointment

WE do not dispute that it has been right for the workers of Algeria to demand an improvement in their lot. That wages of six to ten francs a day constitute an element of social unrest, we do not

dream of denying.

But the agitation in Algeria is political. Strikes there have almost the character of rebellion. The native labourers, worked upon by Communist propaganda and by Kabyl and Berber leaders, have seized the opportunity, led by Pan-Arab elements, of making demands which no colonial Power could grant without denying the fundamental principles of colonisation.

The Anti-Semitic tinge given to the natives' claims proves, better than any argument, the essentially political character of the agitation.

It is symptomatic that the Algerian Moslem Congress last June, that is, on the eve of the bloody events there, adopted a motion demanding categorically all civic rights for Algerian Moslems, and parliamentary representation by their own elected members.

The natives thus claimed all the rights of a French citizen. These rights can easily be obtained by individuals, under the law of 1919, but they entail renunciation of the Koran rights—and this the natives refuse to admit. They want to profit by both laws—to have the same rights as Algerian Frenchmen, without abandoning those accorded them by their Arab origin.

The Dilemma

Can we give way on this point to 6,000,000 natives, surrounding a body of only 800,000 Europeans ? If we are going on the principle of pure academic humanism, it is easy to answer. But as soon as we approach it realistically, we see the difficulties. The question raises the general problem of " imperialism "—in its answer lies the affirmation or negation of an imperial policy. What answer will be given by M. Moutet, our Colonial Minister, who wants to " humanise " French colonial policy ? The hesitation he is showing indicates that he is caught between his socialist ideas and his responsibility as director of the French Empire.

We warn him not to let humanisation involve immediate and complete renunciation of our tutelary protection. It is not possible to assimilate all the native population of a colony politically at one blow, without risking losing it entirely.

The best policy of humanisation would be that of extracting Algeria from economic crisis. Political agitation would quickly be

appeased if wine and grain were selling well.

MOSLEMS, BEWARE!

From "El Ouma," Algiers

("Red" organ of defence of national Moslem interests in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia)

BROTHER Moslems, be on your guard against adventurers and agitators! These benevolent, disinterested people, these good apostles who are springing up in our path all at once, know our misery. They were actually its authors—and are still. What they want of us is clear enough: to make us serve as mercenaries in the evil *coups* which they are planning in Algeria, as in France, against the Popular Front, and to see us accused of crimes which others have instigated. The plan is not badly conceived. The forces of reaction and their press are counting on achieving the double advantage of combating the Left and sabotaging the realisation of our Moslem rights.

It is bitter for us to have to admit the slowness and vacillations of the French Government in respect to our rights. For, although we recognise that the Government has made a beginning in acceding to our claims, we must state that those improvements which might be of some use to the people are being too slow in coming.

Many of the measures granted will mean nothing so long as the oppressive Native Code is not abolished. As long as the voice of the people is stifled, as long as the misery and injustice caused by the existing laws are not done away with, as long as the executioners of the people remain at the head of administrations, the field will remain clear for the Fascists, whose ravages may be terrible. That which they have achieved only feebly in France, they may easily succeed in achieving on a larger scale in Algeria.

SUN WORSHIPPERS GOING STRONG

THE newly-founded Hungarian Organisation of Sun Worshippers has issued a report of its activities. The report states that the Organisation, despite the strong opposition to it of the ruling Catholic Church, already possesses over 2,000 members, and that Jews are admitted.—*World Jewry, London.*

PEACE ON THE NILE

INDEPENDENCE FOR EGYPT

From the "Journal des Nations," Geneva

THE treaty signed in London by Mr. Eden and Nahas Pasha marks the end of an epoch which has lasted fifty years.

It was in 1882, after the defeat of Arabi Pasha by the English forces (France and Italy having refused to take part in military operations), that Great Britain actually took into her hands the direction of Egypt's affairs, *de facto*, but not *de jure*.

The representatives of Great Britain appeared only as advisers of the Khedive, who himself recognised the sovereignty of the Sultan. The other Great Powers retained theoretically the right to watch over the interests of their nationals and of their credit.

But this did not prevent the British pro-Consuls—the Cromers and Milners—who had, moreover, contributed much to the rise of the country—from being the undisputed masters.

"It must be made clear to the Egyptian ministers"—ran one instruction—"and to the provincial governors that the responsibility borne by England obliges his Majesty's Government to insist on the adoption of the policy which it advises and that the governors who do not conform to this obligation will have to give up the exercise of their duties."

As is well known, the European Powers—in the first place France, who dreamt of a Franco-British condominium—were in no hurry to recognise this protectorate as a *fait accompli*.

The end of Marchand's expedition to Fashoda proved that Britain meant to make no concessions and finally, by the agreement of April 8, 1904, which recognised at the same time the preponderating interests of France in Morocco, the British position in Egypt was given international recognition.

The Great War served to consolidate England's legal position.

The Sultan of Turkey, an ally of Germany, was declared to have forfeited his rights, the Khedive was deposed and a new Khedive nominated. Egypt was declared a British protectorate.

But this protectorate did not last long. Great Britain, it is true, succeeded in preventing an Egyptian delegation, which demanded the

independence of Egypt, from attending at the Peace Conference; but, from February 28, 1921, she abandoned the idea of a protectorate, and recognised Egypt as a sovereign and independent State.

This declaration of independence was, however, accompanied by reservations which safeguarded British interests.

The first MacDonald government, in 1924, the second MacDonald government in 1930, attempted to reach a *modus vivendi* acceptable to both parties; but it seemed impossible to come to any agreement.

It was chiefly the question of the administration of the Sudan, a country which had belonged to Egypt but which had been reconquered by the English, and the question of British troops in Egypt, unacceptable to the leaders of the Wafd and indispensable to London, which formed the stumbling block.

Terms of the Compromise

It needed the Ethiopian war with its double threat to Egypt and Great Britain, and the installation of Italy on the other side of the Nile, to bring home to British Conservatives and Egyptian Nationalists the common danger facing them, and the necessity for an understanding.

And this compromise, welcomed unanimously in both England and Egypt, definitely puts the seal on the independence of Egypt.

"The military occupation of Egypt by the forces of His Majesty the King and Emperor is at an end," says the first article of the Treaty. And Article 3, which recognises the sovereignty of Egypt, declares that Great Britain will support her application for membership of the League of Nations.

This does not mean that the British forces are going to leave Egypt. They are going to disappear from Cairo and from the interior of the country.

But they are going to stay another twenty years for the defence of the Suez Canal. At the end of twenty years, if the Egyptian army is strong enough to defend the Canal, the last British soldier will have left the land of the Pharaohs.

A significant feature of the treaty is that, if Egypt and Great Britain disagree as to the capability of the Egyptian forces in 1956 to defend the Canal, it will be the duty of the Council of the League of

Nations to settle the difference.

Similarly, if the parties cannot agree about the revision of the Treaty after its expiration, it will be the duty of the Council to decide the matter.

Thus London proves by a new act the declaration of its statesmen that the Covenant of the League is the pivot of British policy.

The question of the Sudan is postponed. On the other hand, the new agreement not only excludes English intervention for the protection of foreigners by Article 12, but tends to exclude all foreign intervention.

Article 13 recognises that capitulations are no longer compatible with the situation in Egypt. And the annex to this Article lays down the procedure for ending capitulations.

This affects not only British interests but also, and mainly, those of other Powers. There have already appeared in the French press semi-acid comments on this.

THE FINE THING

From "El Ahram," Cairo

FROM this day on, the English will be able to see how useful the friendship of Egypt can be. They will learn how Egypt can appreciate the fine thing and react to it. It will be brought home to them how much of their own and Egypt's time they have wasted; time that might have been used for the benefit of Egypt, and in a way that would have set England's mind at ease. It was a positive necessity that Egypt should break free of that dependent position she had occupied for so many years and pass on to a happier fate.

Although the Egyptians rejoice at the signing of the Treaty, they have not forgotten in their joy what the realities of the situation are. That is to say that this treaty does not bring them all that they have aspired to, nor does it realise their great ideal—the complete independence of the country, the removal of foreign troops from Egyptian soil entirely, and the entrusting of the defence of the land to the Egyptian Army. This is the lodestar of all Egyptian strivings. If the present treaty does not provide for this in its entirety Egyptians can only pray God to grant that the day of its realisation be soon.

PORTUGAL PROSPERS

A Unique Record in Africa

by DR. AUGOSTO DE VASCONCELLOS

(*Permanent Portuguese Delegate to the League of Nations*)

From "The Rotarian," Chicago, U.S.A.

Recent events on the Iberian peninsula and the talk of redistribution of African colonies, have brought Portugal into the news. Her government has been described by some as the most liberal of the dictatorships and by others as a form of fascist tyranny. We reproduce here an account of its achievements in the last few years by one of the most distinguished living Portuguese

PORTUGAL has been called "a nation with a past." It is true that she has had a glorious past. The names of her statesmen, writers, religious and political leaders, and great explorers can be found everywhere in the history of the last thousand years. Their glory continues undiminished.

Portugal continues to play a rôle in world affairs. She is a nation which has learned how to grow old gracefully. While proud of her past, she does not live in dreams. She does not aspire to that greatness which is calculated by the number of battleships a nation possesses, the number of men under arms, or cannon in her arsenals. Nor does she crave the power that comes with possession of material wealth.

A nation, the Portuguese say, can be great because of its intellectual, cultural, and moral gifts to humanity. To live at peace with one's neighbours, to contribute to the well-being of less fortunate peoples, and to keep one's own house in order—that is sufficient.

Portugal is, in point of fact, one of the smallest nations in Europe. Her area of 35,490 square miles approximates to that of Hungary, Panama, or the States of Maine or Indiana. Her population is about equivalent to that of Metropolitan New York, some 6,000,000 persons. But it is significant that scattered around the seven seas and inhabiting the far corners of the earth are no less than 54,000,000 people—including the Brazilians—who use Portuguese as their mother tongue. That

this is so speaks volumes for the success of the Portuguese as colonisers.

Today Portugal ranks fifth in area among the colonising powers of the world. Her colonies in Africa, Asia, and Oceania cover 2,091,801 square kilometers (1,299,635 square miles) with 8,426,000 subjects. Would that I had the time and the ability adequately to tell the drama of Portuguese settlers ! It would be an epic, a story of faith, of serene courage, of disregard for danger, of sobriety, persistence, and patience, and of a great love for the soil.

The Portuguese settler in Africa, for instance, considers his farm, his shop, or his factory as a post of honour, to be worked and defended, never to be deserted. No matter what happens, be it famine or pestilence, drought or disease, he remains, resigns himself to ill fortune, and lives on. The Portuguese has an uncanny intuition for the management of African natives and seldom if ever uses violence to get obedience and cooperation.

Portugal's African colonies—Mozambique and Angola—count 60,000 Europeans and 120,000 " assimilates," or 80 white men for every 10,000 of the native population. This is to be compared with similar regions colonised by other powers in which there are only 25 white colonists for every 10,000 native population.

Railway Construction in Africa

In Angola and Mozambique, Portugal has constructed 3,750 kilometers (2,328 miles) of railways and 58,000 kilometers (36,000 miles) of working roads. The Belgian Congo—a vast territory governed by a nation even smaller than Portugal—has by a splendid effort nearly equalled our achievement. The Congo has now reached 3,700 kilometers (2,300 miles) of working railways.

What railways mean in the African bush only those who have visited the Dark Continent realise. Today one can step into a railway carriage at Lobito Bay on the Atlantic and remain in the same coach until one reaches Lourenço Marques on the Indian Ocean, some 5,000 miles distant. Every district is webbed with communications. The cost, however, has been terrific. It is hard to realise the actual personal sacrifices, the struggle against hostile natives, disease, the savageness of the jungle, and the insurmountable obstacles of Nature fighting against Civilisation. A few years ago, the heart of Africa was inaccessible ; only slow-moving caravans traversed that

country. Today, it has been laid bare and there are few places, if any, in the Portuguese colonies where travellers can not go in complete safety and reasonable comfort.

But Portugal's modern achievements do not lie exclusively in the colonial realm. As a member of the Council of the League of Nations, the Portuguese Government, whenever it is called upon to contribute, through work or influence, has endeavoured to place itself at the service of the common cause. Portugal, modest collaborator though she is in international affairs, has endeavoured to bring about at home conditions of peace and security, both political and economic. Under the leadership of Professor Oliveira Salazar, President of the Council and Minister of Finance, Portugal during the past seven years has placed her financial and economic house in order.

A Balanced Budget

Since 1928 the Portuguese budget has been balanced and budget surpluses from that year onwards have mounted to some 700,000,000 escudos (£6,500,000). Future Portuguese budgets are very adequately safeguarded. The Rule of Budgetary United, inserted in the political constitution of the Portuguese Republic, is the basis of the budget itself. It provides : that payment of all normal State expenses must be made exclusively from normal revenues ; the legal restriction of the conception of extraordinary public expenditure—which can be met only by loans ; the prohibition of the financing of private concerns on any pretext of general interest ; the strict regulation of payments in respect to previous financial years ; protection of the budget against undue financial burdens in respect to colonies, etc.

The floating debt of Portugal, which less than a decade ago amounted to more than two billions (£20,000,000) has gradually been reduced and was completely paid off by June 30, 1934. Under a "Ten-Year Plan," Portugal is pressing forward determinedly on the work of national reorganisation, pressing forward on the basis of a balanced budget.

Unemployment has been effectively combated. While other countries have been increasing their tariffs drastically (twenty-nine European and American States have raised their duties from 100 to 500 per cent., statistics show), Portugal's customs policy has remained moderate. Fresh opportunities for the average citizen are being opened up all over the country, a new spirit is awakening and adapting the nation to the requirements of progress.

THE GERMAN CLAIM TO COLONIES

by GENERAL FRANZ RITTER VON EPP

From the "Europäische Revue," Berlin

General Franz Ritter von Epp, "Statthalter" in Bavaria and Acting President of the "Reichskolonialbund," who prior to 1914 was an officer in the German colonial army, expounds the reasons for the German demand for colonies, which was so strongly put by Herr Hitler at the Nazi Party Congress at Nuremberg last month.

IN proportion to the size of its population, the German nation occupies an extraordinarily small territory which, moreover, does not produce many of the most vitally important raw materials.

The Treaty of Versailles deprived Germany of its entire colonial possessions and took from it the possibility of acquiring with its own money the raw materials absolutely necessary for its requirements. Even in 1914, Germany, with colonial possessions only five and a half times as large as the mother country, was far behind other considerably smaller nations. At that time the British Empire was 105 times as large as Great Britain. Belgium's colonial possessions amounted to an area eighty times greater than the mother country, Holland sixty times as great, and France twenty-two times as great.

The cutting off of Germany from necessary raw materials from its own colonies has had consequences all the more serious, owing to the fact that the density of Germany's population forced it to develop along industrial lines in order to preserve its population at all. One of the most important duties of a responsible government, to provide bread and work for its citizens, has been rendered much more difficult than in other countries. It should also be remembered that the prosperity which pre-war Germany was beginning to develop, depended to a considerable degree upon its colonies and their exploitation.

Germany requires for its economic recovery first of all raw-material producing colonial territory, in which its own currency is in circulation. We cannot and will not be placed in a worse position than other nations. We have to provide for our raw materials with our own money, because—since reparations—there has been from year

to year an ever increasing shrinkage of foreign currency in German money reserves, which made purchases in foreign currency more difficult. This development has also been increased to a marked degree by the autarchical methods of the world in general, which resulted in cutting off many foreign markets for German products.

Sir Samuel Hoare's proposition to call a raw material conference, should this be carried out, can at best open new raw material markets for Germany, but does not take into account at all the German demand for colonial territory under its own financial jurisdiction. German business as a whole, already in a difficult position in many respects, will not be helped by well-intended proposals of this nature.

No Annexation Intended

In the foreign press, Germany was accused of harbouring the most unbelievable intentions in order to regain its colonial possessions. This resulted in much unrest in the world. It cannot be too clearly emphasised that Germany would never place itself in a false position before the world by the annexation of foreign territory. When Germany speaks of its colonial demands, it only has in mind its own colonies, which by virtue of the Treaty of Versailles were placed under the compulsory administration of the League of Nations, from whom the present administrating powers receive their mandates. The German colonial movement desires merely the discontinuance of this compulsory administration and the reinstatement of Germany's free right of disposal over its own colonial possessions. This legal demand on Germany's part would therefore not affect any other nation with respect to its own colonies.

It should not be a difficult matter to comply with Germany's colonial demand. The Treaty of Versailles as it stands today has lost a great deal of its political significance and power. It has become a damaging factor in international life, because it violates good faith and confidence, which are the foundations of justice. The time will surely come when the colonial injustice done to Germany by Article 119 of the Versailles Treaty will be remedied. The falsehood concerning German guilt in connection with the colonies, which inspired their seizure, is now recognised as such. Representative foreigners —I recall particularly the South African Prime Minister Hertzog— have expressly retracted the accusation that Germany was incapable of colonising.

The following legal points, which constitute the foundation of Germany's unquestionable right to the recovery of its colonies, have received practically no mention whatever in discussions hitherto. For one thing, the seizure of the colonies was an act of great injustice because of the fact that, under Article 11 of the Congo Act, the contracting powers had solemnly pledged themselves not to permit a European war to be extended so as to affect colonial possessions in Central Africa. It was therefore possible for the German Secretary of State, Dr. Solf, in reliance upon this agreement, to send a telegraphic despatch to German East Africa on August 2, 1914, to the effect that the colonies were in no danger of war and the settlers need have no anxiety. It was not Germany that violated the terms of Article 11 of the Congo Act. It was an English cruiser which opened hostilities in German East Africa. By this hostile act, the clear contractual purpose of the European Powers not to involve the colonial possessions in any way in case of war, but to maintain the colonial *status quo*, was nullified.

An Unquestionable Right

While from this standpoint the seizure of the German colonies was without justification, there is a further injustice still to be considered. On November 5, 1918, Germany gave its consent to the legally concluded preliminary treaty of peace, having complete confidence that Wilson's Fourteen Points would be observed, and relying on Secretary Lansing's note of November 5, 1918, regarding the legal principles to be applied to further peace negotiations. Point No. 5 of the Wilson proposal provided for a free, generous and impartial adjustment of all colonial questions. But all this was vitiated by Article 119 of the Treaty of Versailles, as Germany was forced to relinquish all its rights with respect to its overseas possessions.

The argument that the seizure of the colonies was nothing but a veiled annexation which Germany, as the loser in the war, must necessarily accept, is not worthy of discussion at all, because in estimating the reparation to be paid, the value of the colonies was not included in the reckoning. Germany, therefore, continues to maintain that its claim to recover its former colonial possessions is based on an unquestionable right.

The accusation frequently heard nowadays that, by reason of its recently enacted racial legislation, Germany is not fit to act as the

guardian of foreign peoples nor to administer their affairs, is self-contradictory. By means of a most thoroughly acquired knowledge in the field of biology, Germany has come to the conclusion that every race possesses its own distinct characteristics. The purpose of German racial legislation was to have due regard for, and to assist in nurturing these racial characteristics in Germany. But Germany has no intention whatever of interfering in the racial affairs of native peoples. We are merely endeavouring to prevent foreign races from mingling with the blood of our nation.

If today Germany is regarded as entitled to equal rights, and it is properly appreciated that national honour is the inalienable right of every nation, and that no nation can permanently suffer its honour to be violated, then Germany has the same right as other nations to co-operate in the development of the backward peoples of the world in accordance with the meaning of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

> "To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant."

For these tasks in the interest of civilisation, from participating in which Germany ought not to be deprived, no countries are included in the terms of the Article quoted which are already under the sovereignty of other nations. *The necessary conclusion therefore is that we can carry on these tasks in our own colonies only, and not in those of Portugal, Holland or Belgium, for instance.* This point of view is the more significant inasmuch as Germany cannot paralyse its endeavours to right the wrong which it has suffered by entertaining improper designs with respect to territory not its own.

World Trade Would Benefit

Through the redress of this colonial injustice, Germany would be in a position gradually to eradicate what is left of its unemployment. Our national business would be given a fresh impetus which would be bound to be shared by world business. Frozen credits, also, could, through the revived freedom of movement of German financial policy, be

much more readily thawed out. Economic improvement would, moreover, contribute largely to a further improvement of peaceful political relations throughout the world. The solution of the German colonial question contains within its scope a decisive factor in the recovery of Europe both politically and economically. Even in the territories still under mandate, their restoration would lead to a state of calm necessary for their further development. But, above all, the white race as a whole must strengthen Europe by effecting a close cooperation with Germany in the solution of the political problems now being faced by the world.

The sooner Germany's legal and moral claims with respect to its colonial territories are recognised, the sooner will it be able to contribute its share to the maintenance of European possessions throughout the world and to the accomplishment of the tasks to be performed in that connection. The Monroe Doctrine, which, with its watchword, "America for the Americans," opened an entirely new world perspective, has now been followed by the cry "Asia for the Asiatics."

To the English nation, this decision should present no great difficulties, for the Anglo-German naval agreement has shown that the adjustment of interests between two great nations, where goodwill is exercised by both sides, is no mere Utopian dream.

GERMANY'S LOST EMPIRE

TANGANYIKA Territory, formerly German East Africa, was the richest of the German colonies, and it resisted conquest longest. The population of the Territory comprises about 5,000,000 natives and 8,000 whites. The exports in 1934 amounted to £2,856,589, and the imports to £2,343,185.

The former German Cameroons is now divided into two mandated territories, one administered by Britain and one by France. The British section has a population of 780,000, and the exports in 1934 amounted to £194,000. The French area has a population of 2,300,000 natives and 2,000 Europeans.

Most of the former German colony of Togoland is administered by France. The French area has a population of 750,000 natives, and a few hundred Europeans. A section of this colony is under British control.

South-west Africa, which is administered by the Union Government, had, in 1934, a population of about 266,000, of whom 31,600 were Europeans. In 1933 the exports amounted to £1,445,000, and the imports to £1,049,000.

The other most substantial German colonies in 1914 were German New Guinea (now administered by Australia), Samoa (by New Zealand), and those islands of the North Pacific now controlled by Japan.—*Sydney Morning Herald.*

APOLOGIA FOR DEMOCRACY

by UPTON SINCLAIR

From " Die Neue Weltbühne," Prague

It is America's strong preference for democracy and constitutional methods of change that this famous exposer of social evils here explains to readers of a German Marxian emigré journal—but he might well be talking of England. Here, in spite of a growing movement for a United Front, organised Labour has rejected co-operation with the Communist Party, for reasons similar to those which Mr. Upton Sinclair says moves American opinion

FOR the enlightenment of my European readers I have already described my attitude towards the problem of substituting for the profit system one of production for needs. I expounded the view that the majority of America thinks in a middle-class way, and that the working class is not in a position to make an end on its own to the ruling system of exploitation.

I now maintain the following : possessing these means, possessing complete freedom to influence the government in accordance with the will of the majority, the people themselves must make use of these powers ; and anyone wishing to bring about an alteration in the social structure must go among the people, explain his programme to them and obtain the consent of the majority for necessary measures.

I maintain further that this is essential, because the method of following the will of the majority is the most sensible method, and one for the future also.

I have read not only Karl Marx, but Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln's problem was the abolition of slavery in the U.S.A., and this against the will of a Supreme Court which sanctioned slavery as a sacred institution. Lincoln carefully avoided announcing publicly that he intended to send the Supreme Court to the devil and destroy the slaveowners ; instead, he imposed fresh limitations on slavery by constitutionally unimpeachable methods, and slowly strangled it. The slaveowners replied by armed rebellion. Then Lincoln had the

moral forces of the country on his side ; he was able to conduct the civil war to a victorious end, and save the unity of the States. He could not have done so, if he himself had broken the Constitution and had begun the civil war. Freeing the slaves then followed from the concentration of power which accompanied the suppression of the rebellion.

If the Capitalists Should Rebel

I maintain finally : The concentration of power which will be required for the abolition of wage slavery calls for the same procedure. Many constitutional paths are open to us if we want to substitute for wage slavery co-operative methods of production and distribution. If we constitutionally win the majority of our fellow citizens for these methods, our capitalists will have to oppose the power of the State—if they feel inclined to. Should they not dare to risk opposition, the capitalist system would very soon crumble under the well-aimed hammer-blows of a government pledged by its programme to substitute a co-operative system for the profit system. Should it come to a rebellion of the capitalists—well, in a civil war like that, we should have the people on our side, and their system would collapse all the more quickly.

I believe that no less a person than Marx himself approved this procedure ; at any rate he regarded it as feasible in States such as the U.S.A., with old-rooted democratic institutions. Marx formulated his views very clearly, for he believed that the means used for bringing about a revolution ought not to be the same everywhere. He pointed out that attention was due to the institutions, customs and traditions of various countries, and that, undeniably, in certain countries " such as the United States and England " the workers might hope to achieve their aims by peaceful means.

It is our business to learn from history and daily events. The nightmare of Hitlerism has shown us not only the weapon of mass murder ready in the hands of the despoilers—propaganda, too, is subject to them, and they have the power and the will to misuse it unscrupulously as a weapon for the deception of the people. Socialism ? Community of the people ? They steal the sacred words and forge them into the chains of capitalist dictatorship. We must at all costs teach the people to recognise the difference between genuine

democracy and the democratic mask assumed by the fascist dictator at the outset of his career.

I am not trying to propose any particular form of tactics to the people of Europe ; I am only trying to explain America to them. Our system of government is over three hundred years old, and even if it has not always been democratic, it has always laid claim to rank as such. My fellow-countrymen are ineradicably imbued with the idea that they owe allegiance solely to a government ruling according to the will of the majority. Anyone wanting to gain the consent and confidence of a people so democratic to the core must above all have faith in democracy in his own heart, and must not let any doubt arise as to the genuineness of his belief.

And here we arrive at the point where our American situation differs so extraordinarily from the European. The European democracies are comparatively young ; large sections allow themselves to be convinced over there, that it would be better to give up government according to the will of the majority.

Suspicion of Communists

Closely connected with this is the problem of the so-called United Front, which in practice represents an alliance between the various democratic parties and the Communists. In France for instance the Communist Party was very strong, and the workers were able to achieve a victory at the elections through a United Front with the communists. What is the situation in the United States ?

"Marianne," Paris

POLITICS ON THE PROM

In 1935 In 1936

"Baltimore Sun"

PERILOUS PERCH

Here the Communist Party is very small, the prejudice against it very strong—not only in capitalist classes, but also among the workers, those who are organised in trade unions not excepted.

I will take as an example our recent E.P.I.C. campaign in California. We proposed to the people to " End Poverty in California " ; in order to end poverty in California, the unemployed were to receive productive work in favour of their own purses, and the State was to supply the necessary capital. We pledged ourselves to democratic methods and strict constitutional conduct ; we waged our propaganda campaign with American ideas, in American language. As the Communist Party supported other methods, which are not compatible with the principal of government according to the will of the majority, we refrained from any connection with the communists. If they asked questions at our meetings, I answered them, but otherwise I ignored them ; and at the elections 879,000 votes were cast for the E.P.I.C. list whilst the communists got something over 4,000 votes.

Now let us suppose I had conducted E.P.I.C. propaganda in accordance with European United Front methods. My list would have gained 4,000 Communist votes. How many would I have lost ? Naturally I can only estimate the answer, but my estimate is based on forty years' study of the American character, and forty years' political experience. Now, I estimate that we should have lost the 400,000 votes of those Americans who would have simply dropped us, as allies of a Party whose programme provides for a dictatorship.

I maintain : those who support a dictatorship in America are opening the door to fascism, whether they are for a dictatorship of the Right or Left. The only dictatorship possible in America is that of the Right, for the classes whose closed phalanx would support a dictatorship of the Right command over ninety per cent. of the lethal, and over ninety-nine per cent. of the propaganda weapons—newspapers, magazines, cinemas, schools, universities, and even churches. Only if we constantly defend the principle of government in accordance with the will of the majority and keep on our side the millions of Americans who believe in that principle, can we hope to avoid a fascist catastrophe.

In the case of countries without our political tradition, where the people are obliged to seize weapons to defend themselves against their oppressors, our sympathies are naturally on the side of the workers,

and we try our best to enlighten the masses of our people accordingly. But as far as our home country is concerned, we must cling to the conviction that we know better than anyone in Europe.

CAN CATHOLICS UNITE WITH COMMUNISTS?

From the "Reichspost," Vienna (Government Catholic Organ)

BOLSHEVISM, which is ceaselessly calling from Moscow for international action, and has a very lively and visible form of expression in the Comintern, recognises that it has no prospect of achieving its aims in any other State without help. So it is now trying everywhere where it thinks its moment has come, to tempt the Left wing bourgeois, radical and free-thinking elements into coalitions. It is even ready to pay a price for this coalition: the moderation of certain external phenomena in Russian territory.

The Popular Fronts in France, Spain, Greece, and many South American countries, are the results of this policy. Tentative beginnings in the same direction have been made in Switzerland, Belgium, Rumania and other countries.

What a ridiculous fate the non-communist elements in these coalitions may finally expect can be seen from the helplessness of those Spanish liberals who assisted the Communists into the saddle, and must now willy-nilly bear responsibility for the bestial horrors with which the anarchist terror is devastating the country.

One warning after another! Even in England anxious voices are already being raised at the extent to which Russia is being helped. There sober military reasons led to the comfortably distant Soviets being found preferable to the Third Reich, rushing violently to its new weapons.

Nevertheless here in Austria all sorts of theories keep cropping up to prove the possibility of cooperation with Communism. The Vice-Burgomaster of Vienna, Dr. E. R. Winter, finds that the undeniable contrast between "Catholic fascism" and the Bolshevik system does not in anyway concern the problem of authority and freedom, but is merely the contrast in national space between South-West Europe and North-East Europe.

Dr. Winter takes four systems—the Catholic, the Western Democratic, the Socialist-Communist, and the Fascist authoritarian, and finds that these four have in common a difference between them and the fifth system—National Socialism. "The four European systems differ from German National Socialism and its typical extra-European, no longer Western character, in National Socialism's eradication of the concept of freedom, on which the Catholic social philosophy, Western democracy, Fascism and even Bolshevism rest in principle, even if they do not all realise it equally in practice." The leader-principle in National Socialism, he says, does not signify authority, which produces freedom, but on the contrary a "mythos," which renounces freedom on principle. Whereas, in any of the other four western systems the only question is, when shall freedom be realised, and how much of it, National Socialism denies freedom altogether. Recognition of this fact must decide all quarrels between Catholicism and Fascism, Fascism and Democracy, Democracy and Socialism.

On this basis, Dr. Winter believes in "a United Front of the four European cultural systems against the anarchic philosophy of National Socialism."

The colourful, fantastic dream-world which the writer conjures up stands, like a Fata Morgana, upsidedown on the horizon. For the suitability of Bolshevism for inclusion in this United Front Dr. Winter finds in the "Neo-Conservatism" into which the revolutionary principle has been changed.

Dangerous Madness

In order that there may be no misunderstanding, we must say that our quarrel with Dr. Winter's ideas does not mean a too mild estimation of the fundamental difference between the Catholic, Christian Austrian outlook on life, and National Socialism. There can be no compromising on that for us. Nevertheless, Christian love of truth compels us to say that everything the Third Reich has done to combat public immorality, for the protection of the family, for the cleansing of theatre, literature and films, compares favourably with that "Neo-Conservatism" of Moscow which leads the distinguished writer to such far-reaching conclusions. But that is not the real point, but rather the immense mistake he makes in regarding Bolshevism as a

constructive element, suitable for inclusion in a United Front.

A philosophic plea for the Popular Front! A plea undisturbed by the reality of Bolshevism, which raises its threatening head like a monster out of the moral and social morass of the present. The destructive powers inherent in Bolshevism, its crass materialism, its hatred of God, its urge toward violent conspiracy against Christian humanity and morals—to regard a system with these characteristics as a "cultural system" worthy of alliance with others, is dangerous madness; and these characteristics are inseparable from Bolshevism. They have not only evidenced themselves in their earlier form in Russia, Bavaria and Hungary, but everywhere that Bolshevism strives for mastery. In China as in Mexico, and now in Spain, its path is marked by acts of deadly enmity towards Christianity, against Christian culture, through terror and destruction—and not by a glimmer of that freedom which a happy idealist ascribes to it.

LET US AVOID FRONTS

From "Mir," Sofia

THE idea of a "Front" no longer implies a peaceful rivalry under the protection of law and order, but the forceful imposition of silence on the people, the provoking of emigration, of flights beyond the frontier, the loss of national and private wealth. What Bulgarian is there who desires the return of this from a still recent past?

It is for this reason that, quite deliberately, we reject the idea of "Fronts" which some men and some current tendencies seek to impose on the Bulgarian people because it is the fashion elsewhere. What takes place abroad as a natural development of the form of society existing there, is not always applicable to Bulgaria where quite other conditions prevail.

The Bulgarian desires a strong government because he dislikes disorder, but he is opposed to dictatorship, and to any form of repression by force. Now "Fronts" lead to dictatorship and violence, because they exercise power for the benefit of a party or of a chosen few.

CHILD MISSING

ONCE more we are happy to report that Willie Borah, who ran away from home to live his own life, will be back for dinner.—*Barron's, Boston.*

THE SMALL POWERS' DILEMMA

HOW BELGIUM STANDS TODAY

From Our Belgian Correspondent

Divided by racial and religious, as well as political animosities, Belgium yet has a strong unity of its own, our correspondent shows. Between National Socialist Germany and Socialist France she has a difficult middle course to steer. Unlike France, Belgium has rejected a United Front

BEFORE going into the more recent developments, it should be pointed out that Belgium opinion is divided in two powerful sections: church-going and non-church-going. But whereas in France one automatically belongs to the conservative wing if one is a believer, and to the democratic wing when one is not a member of any religious community, in Belgium one may very well combine church-going with advanced political views. The Belgium Catholic Party, which until the recent elections (May, 1936) was numerically the strongest in Parliament, includes Conservative Catholics and Christian Democrats. The latter form about two-thirds of the Party, and have founded some very strong and well-organised "Christian Trades Unions."

In May, 1936, the Catholic Party lost some of its former strength owing to the formation of a dissident group, known as the Rexist Party, led by a young lawyer of considerable talent, Léon Degrelle, who scored at the elections thanks to a violent campaign in favour of clearing the country of financial corruption. M. Degrelle has a tendency to adopting a *mise-en-scène* and to creating an atmosphere somewhat reminiscent of what is being done in Nazi Germany, but up till now his influence has not been felt to any large extent, in spite of the fact that his new Party has twenty-one representatives in the Belgian Chamber.

As regards the non-church-going section of Belgian opinion, this covers the Liberal Party which is dwindling rapidly, the Socialists (*Parti Ouvrier Belge*) which is now numerically the strongest party in the House, and a few communists.

In practically every country, the above would suffice to keep politics alive. Not so in Belgium. Every party and sub-party is in turn subdivided into Flemish and Walloon. Thus there are the Flemish Catholics and the Walloon Catholics, the Flemish Christian Democrats and the Walloon Christian Democrats; the Flemish Rexists and the Walloon Rexists; the Flemish Socialists and the Walloon Socialists, etc. To an outsider these divisions and subdivisions may mean very little, but to the Belgians themselves they are vital, inasmuch as they affect every factor of internal as well as foreign politics.

This has been acutely felt of late, for Belgium has very gradually, in an almost unnoticeable manner, altered her foreign policy. Perhaps we should recall here that, prior to the war, Belgium was a neutral state, the integrity of whose frontiers was guaranteed by the 1839 Treaty, the famous "scrap of paper." Belgian neutrality was violated by the German invasion, and since Belgium chose to defend her frontiers, her international status has undergone a radical change. Ever since the armistice, it has been Belgium's dearest wish to enter into a defensive alliance with Great Britain. For reasons into which we need not go here, this wish was never granted, and probably never will be, although the staff meetings agreed to by the British Government after the German reoccupation of the demilitarised Rhineland zone on March 7 this year were hailed by the Belgians as a first step towards the long-dreamed-of Anglo-Belgian Alliance.

Flemish Distrust of France

Shortly after the war, a military treaty of a purely defensive nature, as far as Belgium was concerned, was signed by France and Belgium, and registered at Geneva. The Walloons were delighted, since such a treaty meant a safeguard of the Eastern frontier, but the Flemings undertook a long and patient campaign against it. Flemings distrust France for two reasons: they dread French influence on the language question in Belgium, and, moreover, the Flemings who are Catholic in majority, consider France the greatest enemy of the Roman Catholic Church. Hence their innate dislike of the very thought of being in too close contact with their Southern neighbour. The Flemish campaign against the Franco-Belgian military alliance lasted for about fifteen years, and might never have succeeded had it not been for recent changes in the policy of France herself. In fact, when the

French signed the agreement with Soviet Russia a number of Belgian Conservatives—both Flemish and Walloon—became seriously alarmed. Their alarm grew after the French elections which led to the formation of the Popular Front Cabinet. " France is no longer reliable," many Belgians argued, and the anti-French Flemings were suddenly backed by many of those who formerly considered France as Belgium's only real protector. The Franco-Belgian military treaty ceased to be, and Belgium very gradually embarked upon a new foreign policy which has now taken the very definite form of " absolute independence," which means that from now onwards Belgium is prepared to join hands with those who offer the best guarantees for her security.

It would be altogether absurd to suggest that Belgium is turning towards Germany, for nowhere as much as in Belgium is Germany distrusted, and Nazi methods abhorred. And yet, the fear of communism is so strong that many Belgians feel that Belgian security is no longer solely threatened on the Eastern side, but that a very serious danger is lurking on the Southern frontier. Witness the strikes all over Belgium, following closely upon those in France.

The present Belgian Cabinet is one of National Unity : it includes Catholics, Liberals and Socialists of both French and Flemish speaking areas, all of whom have whole-heartedly endorsed M. van Zeeland's policy of " complete independence " in the realm of foreign affairs, and his policy of " law and order " in the matter of home affairs.

Measures against Extremists

Strong measures have been taken quite recently by the Belgian Government to prevent extremist outbursts both on Right and Left. The Rexist campaign, which is watched with a certain amount of friendly interest by Germany, has no doubt inspired the recent Cabinet measures. As to communism, in spite of the recent strikes, it does not stand much chance in a country where the labouring classes are as hard-working and thrifty as the Belgians. Even in the worst periods of economic depression and unemployment, the Savings Bank Deposits of the Belgian workmen remained practically untouched. Thousands of Belgian workmen own the houses they live in ; thousands of Belgian farmers own the land they work on. It is thus obvious that the population is opposed both to fascism and communism.

The foreign Press has often referred to Belgian separatism. This

exists only as far as inner administration is concerned. As we have shown above, Flemish and Walloon views may differ, even on questions of foreign policy, but as soon as such a question shows signs of affecting the position of the country as a whole, the divergent opinions flow into one strong stream of Belgian opinion.

LOCARNO POWER OR NEUTRAL?

From "La Libre Belgique," (the leading Catholic daily) Brussels

There are disadvantages in having the status of a Great Power, Belgium is finding. Some sections regret the days when their country was declared forever neutral, and had no obligations to come to the assistance of her neighbours

THE revision of the Locarno Treaty, which will very likely take place in the autumn, will very naturally draw attention to our international status.

There is no doubt that there is at present a tendency towards what is usually termed "a return to neutrality." However, a good many erroneous notions are current in that connection, and it may be useful to put matters clearly and underline the principal differences which exist between our present position and that which was ours in 1914.

Before the war, Belgium lived under the régime of guaranteed neutrality. The 1839 Treaties had turned Belgium into a perpetually neutral State. She was, therefore, not only forbidden to wage war, but even to enter into any treaties or alliances likely to entail war with other nations.

It has been asserted that the Belgian régime which had given this country nearly a century's peace, had proved a definite failure in 1914. This double assertion is perhaps too absolute.

In point of fact, a number of States in Europe, which were neither perpetually neutral nor guaranteed by powerful neighbours, knew just as perfect peace between 1839 and 1914.

As to the unjust aggression of which Belgium was the victim in 1914, it would be childish to imagine that this was solely due to her neutral status, and that Belgium would have escaped invasion had she

done away with the tie of neutrality before the outbreak of the War.

The truth is that in itself neutrality is not sufficient to provoke or to prevent war. This truth is so obvious that we would not have stated it were there not some nationalists in whose opinion our neutrality has been the cause of all our troubles, whilst in the other camp, chiefly among certain Flemish circles, the view prevails that a return to neutrality would mean perpetual peace and would enable us to dispense with other security measures.

After the armistice, Belgian opinion was practically unanimous in its wish to repudiate the very idea of neutrality. Belgium, M. Paul Hymans stated, desires to acquire a completely independent status, without any conditions or restrictions whatsoever. On the other hand, M. Charles Woeste, the old Catholic leader, claimed that the war had been "a mere parenthesis." He feared that Belgium, under the pretext of recovering unlimited sovereignty, would engage upon a Great Power policy which might entail the risk of her joining in conflicts entirely foreign to Belgian interests. But no one would listen to him. And failing other, more substantial satisfaction, Belgium threw her neutrality overboard and was admitted to dealing with the Great Powers on an equal footing, at any rate in theory.

It should be noted that Belgium, by adhering to the League of Nations, committed herself in a manner which is incompatible with strict neutrality, mainly as regards Article 16 of the Covenant, which compelled Belgium to adopt the sanctions decreed against Italy.

Belgium being no longer a neutral state has had to look for other means of security. She found them mainly in the Locarno Treaty. But, this time, Belgium no longer played the passive part of a *guaranteed* state, but without hesitation assumed the part of *guarantor*.

On the one hand, France, Great Britain and Italy promised us their assistance should we become the victims of German aggression, and reciprocally we promised to go to the aid of France should she be invaded through Alsace, and to Germany, should the latter be invaded by France.

The result is that, in the case of a European conflict, our position is *less favourable* now than it was in 1914. At that time, our only obligation was the defence of our own frontiers; whereas now we are legally bound to defend, if necessary, not only the frontiers of our former allies, but even those of our ex-enemies.

Another result of the present state of affairs is that, whereas formerly Germany had a material reason for avoiding trespassing upon Belgian soil—since, in those days, Germany benefited from our neutrality—today she has not the slightest interest in respecting our territory, as, whatever happens, we are bound to throw our military strength into the balance if France is attacked by her.

On the other hand, it is in the interest of the Reich not to invade Dutch territory, since Holland, who has remained free of all ties, may stay neutral in the case of a Franco-German war.

The question which thus arises is whether the commitments upon which we have entered are not excessive, and whether, when the revision of the Locarno Treaty is discussed in the near future, it would not be wise for us to revert, not to our former neutral status—for matters are now too far gone—but at any rate to a status more in accordance with the modest part and the interests which naturally fall to a small Power.

NORWAY AND DEFENCE

by CAPTAIN CHRISTEN SMITH

From "Aftenposten," Oslo (Conservative)

Norway, too, is anxiously debating the value of membership of the League, as opposed to complete neutrality. The question also arises whether the Small Powers are "doing their bit" in the cause of the League unless they are armed. The Norwegian we quote here believes they are not.

SO loosely has the League of Nations been built up that it was bound to fail. It is easy to be wise after the event, but on the other hand words of warning have not been lacking. In a letter to the Office of Defence of December 6, 1929, General Holtfodt, as Commander-in-Chief, Norwegian Army, wrote as follows :—

"I have attempted above to set out a few of the essential points in the League Pact which concern the use of force against the sovereign states of the world. I have pointed out that from the moment this new world power adopts measures of force we are touching upon not only one of the most important but also one of the most delicate questions of international relations. In this

can be found the reason for these questions having been treated in a sketchy way in the Pact and the reason for immediate failure of all attempts which so far have been made to alter these sketchy outlines into more concise rules, the latest attempt being the Geneva Protocol of 1924.

"No plan for economic sanctions exists which has been agreed upon by all members of the League. Far less is there any agreed plan for the use of military force. So long as this is the case there is every probability that the whole League will crumple at the very moment when one tries to use these means of force against one or more of the *Big* Powers."

But practically speaking we are at all events at present agreed not to leave the League of Nations. It must then be clear to all that we must put ourselves into the position of being able to do something positive for peace, that we must have the *will* for peace and not only a *wish* for peace.

In this connection I shall quote the following words from a resolution passed at the International Labour Conference in London in March this year: "A criminal attack cannot be repulsed by a moral appeal."

That we, and nearly all other small nations as well, have failed to have the will to be able to defend ourselves has done immense harm to the cause of peace and justice.

On September 16 last year Sir Francis Lindley wrote in the *Times* as follows:

"With no desire to advise His Majesty's Government in their present predicament, I think it would be well if certain facts were borne in mind.

"The first is that it does not rest with the imposers of economic sanctions to decide whether these will lead to war. It rests with the Power against which sanctions are directed.

"The second is that, when it comes to a question of war involving a great Power, small countries do not count in the modern world. Individually their value is 0; and, though arithmetic is discredited in wide circles, it remains a fact that 0+0=0. The question will therefore be decided by England and France acting, it is to be hoped, in concert."

But since a couple of small nations played a very important part in the last world war something must therefore have happened since then, and so it has. Sir Francis Lindley had been British Minister to Norway and had seen that while we were keen in Geneva we had reduced the effectiveness of our Army seriously, and had let our Navy disappear completely. And conditions were not much better in other small countries.

That which Sir Francis Lindley had predicted in September the British Foreign Minister, Sir Samuel Hoare, experienced in December. He found that even the help which Sir Francis Lindley had hoped for began to give way, and in Parliament on December 19 last year he stated that no nation other than Great Britain had moved a ship, a plane or a man to meet the situation which might arise if oil sanctions were imposed. Great Britain stood alone.

No More Neutrality

A good many years have passed since we joined the League of Nations, and to most of us it is no longer clear what membership of the League means in the way of duties, and risks. I shall therefore quote another part of General Holtfodt's letter:

> "When Norway joins the League of Nations we have lost the strongest ramparts of our country's defence, which is our right to *neutrality and our right to decide for ourselves the question of war and peace*, as the authority to decide upon these questions has been handed over to an international body in Geneva. It is necessary that we should be aware of the fact that the very moment when Norwegian troops during a war in Europe are fighting on one side, we are at war with the other side and with all Powers which group themselves with the other side. The same will be the case when foreign troops and war material pass through our country in accordance with Article 16 of the Pact.
>
> "Let us assume that the World-Government—the League Council—where perhaps Norway will not be represented, demands that Norway shall join in a common action against one or more Powers. We must *either agree to such demand*—and we are then through no fault of our own involved in a war which perhaps does not affect our interest or which might even be strictly against our interests or sympathies—*or we may refuse* to give military assistance to the League. If we act in such a manner it must also be clear to us that even if we, according to the letter of the Pact, have the opportunity of withholding our troops, we are all the same unfaithful to the spirit of the Pact. With regard to the transit of troops, however, the rules of the Pact leave us no choice, and in refusing here we are not only unfaithful to the spirit of the Pact, but we also directly and indisputably break the letter of the Pact as well.
>
> "The certain consequence of refusing to comply with the request of the League for military assistance or transit of troops will be that if later on events develop in such a manner that we ourselves must ask for the protection of the League (when in planning our defences we have assumed such protection), it would indeed be over-optimistic to believe that other countries will assist us when we in turn have refused to assist them."

Even if at the time of our joining the League it appeared reasonable to expect disarmament we know now that we have been pro-

foundly disappointed in such expectations and that our disarmament rests on a false foundation. Our defences must, therefore, be built up again. This is now a question of such importance that it overshadows all others. On its rapid realisation may depend whether we shall remain as a free nation or not, and it is a matter which should unite us all irrespective of party.

WHAT OF THE ISLE OF MAN?

We all know England is rearming, as is every nation in Europe, and though all allege they are spending many millions of money to preserve peace, the whole world seems to be sitting on a powder magazine.

What of the Isle of Man? While all other peoples are facing the grave situation which is before us, the Manx Government is doing nothing, which is the worst of having a government in the Island which really consists of one man responsible to no one. In these days of democracy, which is the most valued possession of the British people, we have in the Isle of Man a government not popularly elected and consisting of one man, presumably in no way responsible to the desires and wishes of the people who live here.—*Isle of Man Weekly Times, Douglas.*

THE TWO SORTS

Coming back from the demonstration, the queue got longer and longer at the booking-office. A workman tried to calm an impatient comrade.

"You are never satisfied, We are having to wait because there are a lot of us. We are standing here in the cause of our Spanish comrades."

"The Spaniards, the Spaniards, that's all very well, but I don't want to drink cold soup."

A sceptic summed up:

"There are always some people who want to get themselves killed, and some who don't want to drink their soup cold."—*Marianne, Paris.*

THEY WEREN'T OUR READERS

"Addis Ababa, King of the Riffs."

"Sir Anthony Eden, captain of the stricken liner, Dixie."

"Maxim Litvinoff, King of the Bulgarians,".

"Nicholas Butler, Governor of Oklahoma."

Such were a few of the answers received from students in the School of Journalism recently in a current events test. Merrily continuing their description of the world about them, the future news gatherers revealed further that:

"Sir Samuel Hoare is commander of the French fleet."

"Richard E. Byrd, is a senator from West Virginia."

"Fred Perry is an intrepid arctic explorer."

—*The Daily Northwestern, U.S.A.*

BY AIR TO NEW YORK
The Nations' Plans

From the "Berlin Weekly"

SINCE England's extension of her Far-Eastern air route to include Australia, all the five continents have been linked up by commercial air routes. The Pacific, regarded by America as her particular domain, can also be counted, after the flights performed by the large flying boats of the Clipper type, as open to air traffic. All that is still lacking is the bridge across the North Atlantic, the world's most traversed ocean. The fact that for many years past all the interested nations have directed their efforts towards this aim, is in itself an indication of the great difficulties of the problem. Attention was drawn to the North Atlantic by three outstanding flights; in 1927 Charles Lindbergh flew from New York to Paris; in 1928 Köhl, Hünefeld, and Fitzmaurice were the first to accomplish the flight from east to west. They were followed in 1930 by Wolfgang v. Gronau, who flew via Iceland and Greenland to America. Nevertheless, years have gone by without the realisation of systematic traffic by air between Europe and the United States.

Why is this? Did not Marshal Balbo fly to America in 1933 with a whole squadron of flying-boats? Were the first pioneers not followed by many successful imitators? True—but systematic air traffic, the fundamentals of which are regularity, security and punctuality, requires different conditions from individual flights, even if these are carried out in groups. And the sole route which for some time past could be regarded as ready for air traffic—that via Iceland and Greenland—is by no means fit for use the whole year round; to say nothing of the difficulties which would be occasioned by supplies and organisation in Labrador and Greenland. This is the reason for the lack of activity on the so-called "Gronau route." It has been recognised that for a regular service only two routes are to be considered; the direct route, roughly that followed by the fast steamer course, and the route from Portugal via the Azores and Bermuda.

With the expiration of the monopoly contract with France—during the whole period of which, however, no experiments of any kind were undertaken—the Azores are available as a starting-point for the interested nations. Treaties with Portugal have been made by England,

anxious to bring the Dominion of Canada nearer to Great Britain, and by Germany, who through her regular service to South America offers a convincing proof of her good position in the sphere of transatlantic air travel. They are allowed by these treaties to carry out trial flights, making use of the Azores. Both countries have also made similar treaties with the United States, based on terms of mutuality, since North America also intends shortly to begin experiments. The most advantageously spaced route is that from the Azores to the British islands of Bermuda, and then on to New York. There are thus no difficulties for England and America, but still for Germany. It is to be hoped, however, that England, with her proverbial progressiveness, will not refuse a permit for German trial flights.

It is obvious that the route broken by the two groups of islands is to be preferred to the all-sea-route taken by the steamers. For air traffic it is not a question of overcoming distances with "flying petrol tanks," but in the first place of transporting useful loads. For this reason, and also on account of the greater meteorological difficulties, the direct route is for the present discarded and interest is concentrated on the "Azores route." Here we shall experience during the coming weeks the first trial flights which, it is to be hoped, will prove successful.

Germans Using Diesel Engines

While both America and England intend to fly the North Atlantic with large flying-boats, Germany hopes to conquer this distance with flying boats of the type in use in the South Atlantic service, using the well-known floating air bases. The German Lufthansa has three air bases, the *Westfalen*, the *Schwabenland* and the *Ostmark*. The last-named ship, only recently brought into service, is the first air-base constructed as such, the others having been obtained as freighters and adapted. The largest air-base in existence so far, the motor-boat *Schwabenland*, has been made available for the North Atlantic attempts. As in the South Atlantic, the duties of the air-bases in the North Atlantic will mainly consist in facilitating starts by means of the catapult apparatus. In this way the dangerous water-start, which on a rough sea is in fact almost impossible, is avoided.

For craft, the flying-boat Dornier Do 18, equipped with two Junkers heavy oil engines, will be used, after having undergone severe tests. The efficiency of the only Junkers Diesel engine in use in the

German Lufthansa was demonstrated recently by the great non-stop flight performed by Junkers Ju 86 from Dessau to Bathurst (British Gambia), the African base of the Lufthansa's South Atlantic service; in this flight 3,730 miles were covered without intermediate landing in only eighteen hours.

The great advantage of the heavy oil engine is its small consumption of fuel. By this means both range and loading capacity are increased. For traffic to the United States this is extremely important. In addition, the flying-boat Dornier Do 18 with Diesel engines will also replace the old Dornier Wal on the South Atlantic route, the latter having become too slow.

Passengers by Zepp

Whereas England and U.S.A. aim at passenger transport in addition to air-mail on the North Atlantic route, Germany limits herself solely to carrying mail, as far as the aeroplane service is concerned. In view of the fact that aeroplanes as well as the airships *Hindenburg* and *Graf Zeppelin* carry the symbol of the new Germany across the ocean, and bear witness throughout the world to the German desire for the achievement, in peaceful cooperation with the other nations, of constructive work beneficial to trade and transport, a natural and obvious division of labour has been established. So long as the present technical conditions prevail, that is, so long as the aeroplane is not able to offer the traveller that comfort which on long distances he is entitled to demand from a modern means of transport, prior claim for passenger transport in over-sea air traffic is to be accorded to the airship, which abundantly shows its superiority in this respect. Mail, on the other hand, as the most urgent freight, must be left to the aeroplane, by far superior to the airship from the point of view of speed. For these reasons the projected German trials toward the creating of an airway across the North Atlantic aim only at an air-mail service.

PENGUINS TAKE A WORLD CRUISE

NINE penguin passengers have just travelled in a Norwegian steamer from the South Pole to the North. They were "invited" by Norway with the object of forming new penguin colonies. Four of them are to be installed on one of the Lofoden Islands and the five others in the north of Norway.

Thanks to the special care of the crew, the long voyage went off well. The worst time for the penguins was in the tropics. The sailors had to hose them continually with iced water.—*Excelsior, Paris.*

UNCLE SAM CAMPAIGNING —

FATHER COUGHLIN'S CHILDREN

by JONATHAN MITCHELL

From the "New Republic," New York

One of the strangest features of the American Presidential election campaign now in progress is the immense popularity of the "radio priest," Father Coughlin, and his National Union for Social Justice (N.U.S.J.) which is supporting the candidature of Mr. William Lemke, and currency inflation. This Union, opponents point out, has widened the term Communism to include President Roosevelt; and its Convention at Cleveland, described below, has been called the emotional high-water-mark of American political history.

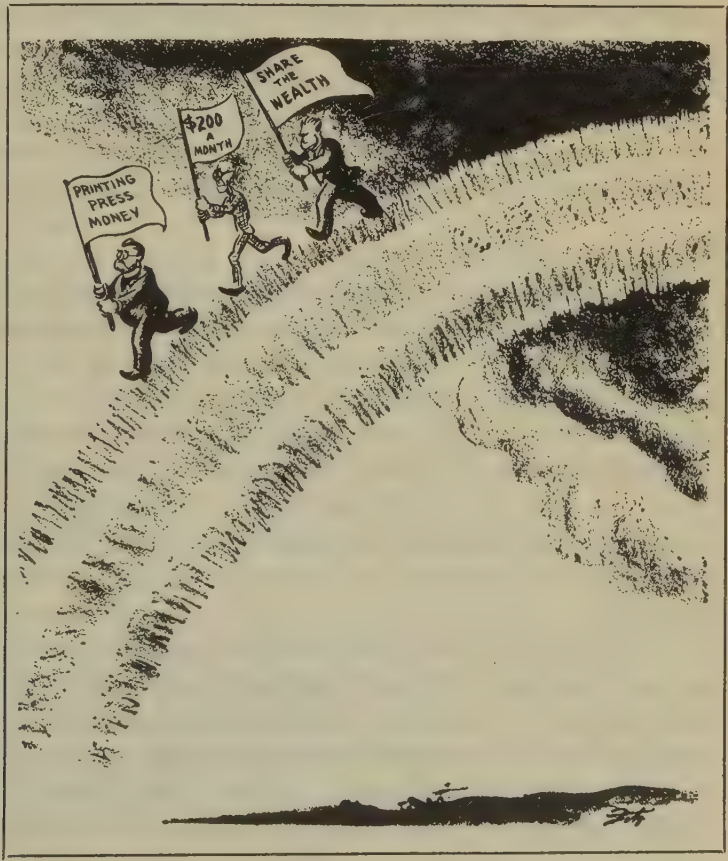
SOME ten thousand followers of Father Coughlin came to Cleveland's public auditorium recently—twenty thousand to his Sunday mass-meeting in the Cleveland Stadium—and went partially insane. They indulged in cries, shrieks, moans, rolling of the eyes and brandishing of the arms that—performed in their own family circles—would have caused their relatives to summon ambulances. In their parades in the convention hall, their object was to gain the head of the centre aisle, the point closest to Father Coughlin, and there hundreds of them would stand, with uncanny, glassy stares and shaking from head to foot, until they were brushed aside by the ravenous idolators behind them.

Most observers agreed the emotional pitch was higher even than at the Townsend orgy here a month ago. The Townsend leaders were split, and the old folks became troubled by the opposing oratory. In this meeting, the scarlet-cheeked Father shone alone. During three days, there was one vote cast against the Coughlin programme, by a stubborn, white-faced, obviously terror-stricken Pennsylvania Irishman, Mr. John H. O'Donnell. With great showmanship, Coughlin brought O'Donnell to the platform, announced that he was the sole dissenter among 8,153 registered delegates and alternates, and sent him away under police escort, amid blood-curdling howls from the crowd.

Father Coughlin came to Cleveland—came by lake boat with a staff of more than thirty secretaries, stenographers and young male staff workers—visibly uncertain of himself. He repeatedly apologized for having called the President " Franklin Double-Crossing Roosevelt " before the Townsendites, and nervously evaded reports that he had been reprimanded by Rome. He hinted at " treachery " among his followers. Three days of uninterrupted frenzy pumped back courage into him. In the midst of the convention's demonstration for Messrs. Lemke and O'Brien, he popped from his high-backed, brocaded chair, came and squatted among the footlights at the platform's edge. " If I can't deliver my radio audience—and that's 9,000,000 voters—if I can't deliver them for Lemke and O'Brien in November, I'm through," he told the press. " I'll be a washout, and I'll quit broadcasting."

America's Easy Money Advocates: Father Coughlin, Dr. Townsend and the Rev. Gerald Smith:

" Onward, Folks, to the Pot of Gold! "



Fitzpatrick, " St. Louis Post-Dispatch."

Framed by the tangle of sound-picture and radio apparatus on the platform, Coughlin appeared thickset, remarkably youthful looking. He has a broad low forehead, heavy, aggressive features, and wears rimless spectacles. His face is completely lineless. It is not properly fat, but rather appears perpetually swollen, with the hard, bright, crimson surface of skin just after an insect bite—possibly an indication of glandular unbalance. He is elegantly turned out, very high Roman collar, well cut and well pressed clothes.

Throughout the three days at Cleveland, Coughlin was called simply " Father." " Father says . . . Father thinks . . . Father told us . . ." The nominating speech for Coughlin as president of the N.U.S.J.'s corporation, formed at Cleveland, was made by Miss Helen Elizabeth Martin, of the Bronx, New York, a middle-aged woman with a red ribbon in her hair. Amid frantic applause, she announced that " for those of us who haven't a material father—whose father is in the Great Beyond—he can be our father, and we won't need to feel lonesome." Apparently in the grip of almost unbearable emotion, a Maryland delegate proposed : " Resolved, that we give thanks to the mother of the Reverend Charles E. Coughlin for bearing him." Innumerable speakers identified Coughlin with Christ.

Lure of the Broadcaster

Everywhere was evidence that Coughlin's power comes altogether from the accumulated effect of his weekly broadcasts. Invariably, delegates began : " I've been listening for four years." Or it would be two years, or, shamefacedly, only six months. They were people to whom a $10 radio was their only luxury, their great comfort. Week after week, Coughlin has explained that their depression-born poverty is not their fault, that it has been caused by evil, mysterious forces, international bankers, the Rothschilds, the Communists. He has told them, crudely and flatly : " God wants you to have more money."

And the delegates were in Cleveland to see this Voice that had let them dream. Father Coughlin's slightly irritating mannerisms—for example, his trick of acknowledging applause by flicking his handkerchief with a dainty movement of his wrist—made no difference. Nothing made any difference. Before they left their homes a relationship had been created between them and the Voice which pulled them

as helplessly as if they had been attached to steel wires.

Father Coughlin is the world's first politician to be almost exclusively a radio performer. At Cleveland, as each new speaker approached the lectern, he was on his feet, deftly adjusting the loudspeaker equipment. He himself, in speaking, nuzzles up to the apparatus as if he meant to swallow it. He can talk for an hour without moving his lips two inches from the microphone. In warming up his voice, he wriggles his body from the heels upwards—never, unlike most speakers, does he move on the platform. In interviews he is at his best discussing networks and coverages. He put a section devoted to radio in the N.U.S.J.'s constitution. His principal comment on Governor Landon was that Landon's radio manner was calamitous. For Mr. Roosevelt, he has the feeling that one virtuoso has for another.

On the basis of the Cleveland convention, where does Father intend to take his millions of followers ? One probability is apparent. The partnership with Dr. Townsend and the Reverend Smith is about to end. Dr. Townsend's inability to discipline his subordinates, and the disorderliness of the O.A.R.P.'s membership lists and finances, apparently disturb him. But it may also be guessed that he is jealous of the Reverend Smith.

From what was said and done at Cleveland, it is mere fairness to say that Father Coughlin is at least slightly less dangerous than—for example—Mr. Hearst or the Reverend Smith. Coughlin bellowed against Moscow, but it must be said that he also bellowed against company unions, to the evident delight of his followers. It needs likewise to be emphasized that Coughlin spoke in advocacy of a child-labour amendment and that he showed himself favourable to the control of munitions.

Whatever Coughlin's own inclinations toward Red and Jew-baiting may be, the cohesive force in his movement—judged by Cleveland—still remains wholly that of currency inflation. That, and not the suppression of labour organisations, is also the interest of Coughlin's business backers. (Father Coughlin protests angrily against being called an inflationist by the press, insisting that he wants merely to substitute " real " money for the " fictitious " money created by the Federal Reserve Banks.)

Father Coughlin's arguments are William Jennings Bryan's,

embroidered by the names of the Christian saints and the Church fathers. For those who believe nothing changes, it may be recalled that Rhode Island, where now more than half the electorate are enrolled members of the N.U.S.J., was also the state to have the most complete currency inflation of the 1780's, so that post-revolutionary creditors had to flee by night, lest their eager debtors sneak up behind them, and succeed in paying them.

Some thirty delegates, picked from the ranks, seconded Father Coughlin's nomination as president of the N.U.S.J. corporation. One of them, from the Dakotas—tall, erect, level-eyed, with close-cropped head—obviously had never faced a crowd before, and in his terror spoke with the simple brevity that people are supposed to use at the Judgment Gate: "I am a farmer. I've worked hard. I've raised a big family. Now I've got nothing." Such are the men and women—several millions of them—for whom Father Coughlin is Father, and so long as they fail to receive the "justice" that he promises them, this country will not be safe or happy.

SOMETHING LIKE EUROPE

From the "Commonweal" (Catholic), New York

THERE are indications that the campaign about to begin will be the nations' first experience with methods long since familiar to Europe. We have, of course, seen many a third party, just as we have lived through other periods of acute social dissatisfaction. But this time a number of movements have sought political expression, and several of them are impressively similar to Old World group trends.

It is no secret that Mr. Lemke is supported not by a homogeneous body but by three distinct philosophies; and if he should be measurably successful, the three will part company and emerge—for a while at least—as separate national political entities. Of them Father Coughlin's is the most vital because it has absorbed the ancient populistic energy that stirs in so many American bones. His associate, Mr. Smith, leads an army of men and women who bear a striking resemblance to the left wing of the Nazi party. Policies, diction, outlook, method—all remind one of Gottfried Feder and Gregor Strasser. But so far there has been no trend toward alliance with a militarist mentality, and therefore it is mere twaddle to call Father

Coughlin a Fascist. It is, of course, theoretically conceivable that if Mr. Earl Browder (another European phenomenon) ever secured a really large following, the Lemkeites might strike a bargain with the Legion and similar bodies.

For the moment the moderate progressive temper of the United States, the greatest social product of Anglo-Saxon and German liberal thought, is still so firmly in the saddle that all such queries are of little moment. There is hardly more than a difference of method between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Landon. The real significance of a Landon victory would be the restoration of leadership to Congress. The real significance of a Roosevelt triumph would be the further strengthening of presidential control. The first necessarily implies decentralisation; the second, centralisation. But, apart from a few ventures like Professor Tugwell's romantic rehabilitation crusade, the aims in both cases will be the same because both are rooted in American experience. Each side could find among the fathers of the Republic not a few notable supporters of its argument.

BIG BILL THOMPSON AGAIN

From the "Times Dispatch," Richmond (Va.)

THE alliance between Representative William Lemke, Dr. Francis E. Townsend, Father Coughlin and the Rev. Gerald Smith, political legatee of the late Huey Long, has served to bring forward another eminent crackpot, of whom the country had heard little, or nothing, during the past five years. He is "Big Bill" Thompson, former Mayor of Chicago, whose booming, if futile, voice once was heard around the world.

This ex-cowboy, who, according to the latest reports, is still wearing his 10-gallon hat, has announced his candidacy for the governorship of Illinois on the Union party ticket. That, it may be remembered, is the political group which is offering Mr. Lemke for the presidency. "Big Bill," apparently, is extremely optimistic over the outlook. "We're going to win this fight in Illinois," he says. "A majority of the people of the State are either in the Townsend plan, the Lemke plan for farmers, the Coughlin plan or the Huey Long plan. With Thompson's friends uniting behind them, there can be no doubt of victory next November."

And so another rabble rouser joins up with the other rabble-rousers who, between them, are offering the American people just about everything under the sun. One of the planks in Lemke's platform, calling for severe aloofness on the part of this country from all foreign affairs, must appeal tremendously to "Big Bill," who was one of the original 100 per cent. Americans. As Mayor of Chicago, he effected the ousting of the Superintendent of Schools, who, he said, was partial to textbooks which sang the praises of Great Britain. In this connection, the vociferous plainsman promised to "bust King George in the snoot," if that monarch ever came his way.

The U.S. Vicar of Bray

Thompson has adopted all sorts of artifices in appealing to his public. He established the America First Foundation, which was supposed to issue diplomas to persons who completed a course in citizenship. He went up and down the Mississippi Valley preaching flood control. In the early days of the World War, he was frankly Teutonic in his sympathies, proclaiming Chicago as the sixth German city. When that became no longer a vote-getting proposition, he switched his sympathies to the Irish, calling loudly for Irish freedom. All these things were infinitely more remote from his bailiwick than the crime situation in Chicago, about which he did nothing.

"Big Bill" has been a Republican all his life. It is easy, however, for him to toss overboard any political convictions he is supposed to have had, in order to meet what he conceives to be the exigencies of practical politics. In one of his candidacies for Mayor of Chicago, his motto was "Make Chicago Hum," to which sceptics retorted, "Yeah! Hum like a humbug!" We doubt, however, if there was ever any larger percentage of humbuggery in his mayoralty campaigns than there will be in his forthcoming drive for the governorship of Illinois, with the Townsend-Coughlin-Smith-Lemke forces arrayed behind him.

RUNNING OUT OF NAUGHTS

Such has been the magnitude of recent Government operations, with billions being bandied about like pennies, that in many instances extra ciphers have had to be added to typesetting machines in newspaper offices. As an example of the demand for naughts, last week, in twelve lines of ordinary news type in a New York sheet, no less than ninety-six zeroes were used.—*Fact Digest, Emaus, U.S.A.*

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INTERNATIONAL BOOKSHELF

The Editor reminds his readers that he does not necessarily share the opinions expressed by reviewers in this section. But this is a free country and knows no censorship.

THE VOICE OF REASON

EUROPE AND EUROPEANS: A STUDY IN HISTORICAL PSYCHOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. By Count Carlo Sforza. *Harrap.*—12*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by WICKHAM STEED

As a constructive and experienced statesman, formed in the finest school of modern diplomacy and politics, Count Carlo Sforza dedicates this book "To all those who still want to hope." In effect, his message to a world now bidden to choose between Communism and Fascism, two rival madnesses, is: "Choose neither. Hold fast to the more excellent way of liberal sanity, work and despair not."

The greatest practical statesman of the nineteenth century was Cavour. One of the greatest, if not the greatest of its political prophets was Mazzini. A dreamer and a seer, Mazzini often troubled Cavour, the doer. Among Mazzini's youthful disciples was Emilio Visconti Venosta who, in the early 'fifties of last century, joined Cavour, became his lieutenant and presently carried on his tradition with rare poise and understanding.

Count Carlo Sforza in his youth, was a pupil of Visconti Venosta. By training, outlook and temperament he embodies the Cavour-Mazzini-Visconti Venosta tradition. As a young fellow in Rome I, too, sat for some years at Visconti Venosta's feet. To me, therefore, Count Sforza's book appeals with peculiar force. Nearly all his judgments on things Italian and European, past and present, I can accept unreservedly, while perceiving that readers unaware of his background may find them aphoristic and a trifle dogmatic. He seems to write mainly for those whose knowledge and experience are similar to his own, to assume, in a word, that they are as familiar as he is with the facts and details he mentions. Thus he has almost written a book for experts—almost, not quite.

One need not be expert to see the truth of this passage:—

> "The heaviest responsibility of German Marxism towards social history will be that it paved the way—it matters little whether or not Marx wanted it—for an atmosphere of indifference to the conquests of liberty. The easy defeat of the Socialist parties in those countries where they had seemed so formidably organised—and where, in so many practical ways, they sometimes constituted very useful elements of economic and social progress—originated in the essential failure of the German (Socialist) mother Church to comprehend the necessity for freedom."

Not less true is Count Sforza's observation that the only two German Socialist leaders who understood the worth of freedom were old Wilhelm Liebknecht and, in the following generation, Eduard Bernstein, "whom

prolonged exile in London had really accustomed to knowledge and love of freedom," whereas other leaders, like Bebel and Vollmar, "men of very high moral standing and heroic probity," never suspected that people "could be unhappy in well-kept-barracks."

Here Count Sforza puts in a nutshell the reason for the failure of German Marxism and, indirectly, for the rise of Nazism. His pages are full of such flashes of insight. Of present dangers he says tersely: "The (Nazi) German schemes against Russia are the main problem of post-war Europe, just as the fate of Austria-Hungary was the dangerous problem before 1914—at least as long as Germany is ruled by a militaristic dictatorship. Dictators cannot do without wars." And his piercing criticism of Italian policy after the War, a policy that promoted the artificial persecution-mania which engendered Fascism, is that it failed to realise and to turn to account the priceless advantage which the War had brought to Italy—"the disappearance of Imperial Austria, a fact which at one stroke eliminated the tragic Italian dilemma whether to be ally or foe of the Hapsburg Monarchy, and gave Italy full diplomatic freedom of action for the future."

Quotations like these could be multiplied without exhausting the store of Count Sforza's wisdom. Technical blemishes there are, here and there, as when he makes the curious mistake of saying that the Emperor William's famous "brilliant second" telegram in 1906 was addressed to the Emperor Francis Joseph instead of to Count Goluchowski whom it was meant to slay, and did slay, politically. There may also be some errors of judgment. But these are minor failings on the part of the one Italian statesman who, after the War, strove to fulfil Mazzini's and Cavour's vision of the relations between Italy and the Yugoslavs, and who today sees the federation of Europe as the only constructive remedy for present dangers, griefs and mischiefs. None whose conviction is based on knowledge will question the pertinence of his warning that:—

> "Either we shall serve this (European) ideal—in our minds, in our souls, even more than in our treaties—or we shall perish.
>
> "And we shall not be submerged by that 'revolution' of which the Tories talk with shudders of horror. Ours will be—if it does come to pass—a suicide due to our short-sighted selfishness, to the dread we had of principles of freedom and peace, because we failed to see that it was from these we had to derive the necessary strength to resist the cheap happiness which the Kremlin maniacs have proffered to a weary and hesitant humanity."

SPANISH SURVEY

SPAIN TODAY. By Edward Conze. *Secker and Warburg.* 3*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by JOHN MARKS

A BOOK that might help to clarify the present confusion of news and prejudice in reports from the various Spanish battlefronts, that might to some extent render intelligible to the remote and moderate English mind the butchery and idealism of these sorry realists in conflict, would be welcome and of great service. This hurried, lively and incomplete survey of the causes and components of a violent struggle that was as inevitable as it is tragic will interest everyone who reads it and disappoint those who realise that it presents only one side of the picture, and that not always with accuracy. More by reason of pressing time and compressed space than because of the distinct bias which colours his judgments and clogs his style, Dr. Conze has produced, at the right moment, only a rough sketch in 140-odd pages of a "Revolution and

Counter-revolution" (as his sub-title has it) that seems destined to precipitate the fate of Europe.

Dr. Conze outlines Spain's political history from 1902 to August 1936. Broadly speaking, he does justice to the seven years of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, having succinctly explained Spain's unstable industrial and social development after the loss of her remnants of an empire in 1898; he accounts very admirably for the decline and collapse, within two years, of reformist socialism in power following the proclamation of the Republic; and, taking the subsequent swing of the pendulum somewhat for granted, finds little to say—as indeed there is not much to be said—of the inert, obstructionist Lerroux and Samper administrations. Concerned with the workers even more than with the peasants of Spain, he tends virtually to ignore the composition of huge masses on the Right, which are naturally distasteful to him. This exclusion of the Right from the picture, except as a recurrent menace, alarmed and tyrannical, is a mistake; it warps his perspective. Much of his detailed drawing—statistics, personalities, isms and ideologies of the Left—is excellent; but his composition and colour-values suffer in consequence of an unfortunate, if pardonable, party astigmatism and that glaring shortsight which results from preconceptions and an imperfect knowledge of Spanish combined.

On the differences between Spanish socialists and their even more Spanish allies and opponents, the anarchists, he is enlightening; with the unavoidable minimum of confusion he dissects the *Frente Popular* for our information; and he writes well about Largo Caballero, "the most outstanding personality in the European socialist movement since the death of Lenin." But that he can describe *Acción Popular* as "a form of Roman Catholic fascism", refer continually to Spain's parliament as the "Cortez", and in a book entitled *Spain Today* writes the bare sentence: "In July, the death of Calvo Sotelo was a great loss to Spanish reaction; he was easily their most intelligent and energetic leader" proves that Dr. Conze is improperly suited to write even a short preliminary essay on so momentous a crisis.

THE GLOOMY CITY

GENEVA SCENE. By Norman Hillson. *Routledge*. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Reviewed by "*Perspectus*"

JUDGED from its contents, *Geneva Scene* might well have been called "League Epitaph."

After a rapid historic and panoramic sketch of the old city on Lake Leman, where the ideas of Calvin and Rousseau still abound, Mr. Hillson, who was for five years correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Geneva, describes what happened when it was attempted to graft on this Calvinistic town the internationalism of Woodrow Wilson through the many international bodies which have established their headquarters at Geneva in the wake of the League.

He finds the climate of Geneva not at all to his liking and suggests that the dull city, enveloped much of the time in mist and damp, and in an "atmosphere of gloom," has had an unhappy effect on the conduct of international affairs.

He goes on to describe this unhappy effect in a series of chapters on the League's recent failures: Manchuria, Disarmament, the Economic Conference, Ethiopia . . . Other equally brilliant failures—the Four-Power Pact, Stresa—though outside the League, are sketched in their historical turn, while a chapter on the Saar, which is usually regarded at least as slightly

creditable to the League, is nevertheless treated in a manner which leaves no doubt that the author himself was certainly enveloped in that "atmosphere of gloom" which he says hangs over Geneva.

Geneva may sometimes be gloomy and is perhaps usually dull, but *Geneva Scene*, though gloomy, is not a dull book. It is always interesting, and sometimes brilliant, especially when describing some of the leading "League personalities" who have crossed the Geneva stage during the last five years.

The chapters on the Disarmament Conference give perhaps the best available account in brief and readable form of those episodes—the Macdonald Equality of Rights formula, the Davis Consultative Pact, the British Draft Convention, etc.—which inspired such high hopes momentarily, only to be dashed to the ground in the months of weary debate, and finally killed in the inevitable *contretemps* between the French and German delegates, followed by the German withdrawal from the Conference and the League.

As with Disarmament, so with Manchuria and Ethiopia, the author contrasts the highlights of agreement in principle with the shadows of disagreement in detail leading in each case to the negative results now described as the "failures" of Geneva. This brings him in one of his final chapters, to describe Addis Ababa as the "last citadel of collective security."

As a true correspondent, the author has confined himself more to description than to analysis, and herein lies the first danger in accepting *Geneva Scene* as history or rather as complete, history. The book tends to give the reader that false impression that the League is an entity in Geneva, and that the bad climate which surrounds this "international capital" is somehow to blame for the League's failures.

René Clair

STAR TURN

✷

"Which of us has thought of Rene Clair as a novelist? This first book of his, just out, is something of an event . . . . it shows just those qualities of rich comic invention, acute sense of fantasy and uproarious satire which we associate with his films."—THE STAR

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It should now be clear, even in foggiest Geneva, that the League is not really located there at all. If, instead of a partial League of some sovereign nations, we had a Federation of Nations, with headquarters in Geneva, the case might be different. But as things stand today, the blame, if any, for failure should attach to the policies made and pursued in the various capitals.

The League was doubtless meant by its authors to function in a world that, with all its minor problems, was fundamentally adjusted. But that degree of political stability perhaps never existed at any time since the League was founded. All this is clearer today than it was in 1920 or even 1930. *Geneva Scene* will make it clearer to those who do not yet comprehend.

EVOLUTION OF A NAZI

ONCE YOUR ENEMY. By Heinrich Hauser. *Methuen.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by JOHN L. GORDON

THE author of this autobiography gives a realistic picture of Germany during the War and after. The book is forcefully written and reveals the condition of the people during that critical period. The part that deals with the chaos that reigned in Germany in 1918 is particularly vivid and interesting. It makes one understand Hitler's appeal to the masses. Descriptions of the author's life as an iron-worker at Krupps, and his experiences as a seaman are full of graphic realism, and the admirable translation by Mr. Norman Cullick loses nothing of his fire and enthusiasm. The title of the book may give the impression of pacifist propaganda, but nothing is further from the truth. Herr Hauser is a born fighter, and though he has had much hardship his faith and courage have never left him. Herr Hauser seems to have lived every minute of his life to the full, and has written an exciting adventure story.

BLOOD MONEY

THE PROFITS OF WAR. By Richard Lewinsohn. *Routledge.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by Captain ALAN THOMAS

THIS is a general historical survey of the profits that have accrued through war to different categories of people—generals, financiers, armament firms, contractors and speculators. In the first category we begin with Julius Caesar, whose fortune during ten years of war improved to the tune of £1,300,000, and end with the gratuities paid to some of the Generals after the Great War. So far as the military are concerned the tendency during the past hundred years has been towards a decline in their profits from war. The same tendency is likely to be true of the bankers. "The profits from war which in two epochs—the Renaissance and the nineteenth century—flowed so abundantly into the bankers' pockets, are not likely to be repeated." Even for the arms manufacturer life isn't what it was in the good old days of economic liberalism. The movement towards nationalisation is growing rapidly and would certainly be strengthened in the event of another war. What the arms merchants want today is "not war, but a precarious peace."

Another class of people who in their quiet way have done very well out of war are the contractors—the people who provide not only the raw material for armaments but also "corned beef, military cloth, boots, oil and petrol, and the thousand other things required by a modern army." So far they have managed to avoid the spot-light of public opinion which has played with good effect on the manufacturers of arms. Finally, there are the speculators "the success of whose deals contributes nothing to the success of a campaign." Theirs of course is a risky game and unless they

are gifted with an exceptional flair for judging the effect of events they lose as much as they gain.

In the last chapter Mr. Lewinsohn discusses the struggle against war profits. The new conception is that "the State should determine the remuneration which the citizen receives for his wartime services whatever those services may be," but the author is sceptical as to the chances of this conception being put into practice under a capitalist structure of society.

This book, admirably translated by Mr. Geoffrey Sainsbury, makes a valuable as well as an extremely interesting contribution to the study of a subject badly in need of ventilation.

THE DETERMINED INVESTIGATOR

I SEARCH FOR TRUTH IN RUSSIA. By Sir Walter Citrine. *Routledge.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by J. T. C. PEMBER

"WE found that there were two lavatories in the tourist class . . . the sanitary accommodation was not very satisfactory." (S. S. Smolny). "I visited the communal lavatories . . . their condition was horrible in the extreme." (Dnieproges.) "I saw the outside lavatories. Nearby several pigstys . . ." (Kramatorsk.) "There was only one lavatory for the whole of these six families." (Baku.)

Now it needs courage to visit Russian lavatories, especially in an academic spirit. If the author searched in vain for truth there, he did not miss it anywhere else. As a survey of Russian living conditions this book is an achievement. Nor was it easily come by in other ways. Sir Walter Citrine was followed by armed "guards of honour" and "my wife was given an enormous bouquet which took up half the car." ("I held myself in," he comments!) The T.U.C. leader, Comrade Citrine, was gently misled, but his firmness as knight and comrade was almost unkind. "I rallied my forces once more.

'Have you shown me the worst?' I demanded.

'How do you know?'

'The comrades say they are.'

'But I know there are some down by the dam which we have not yet seen, and I am going there,' I retorted.

It shakes one's faith in dictatorships.

Tube or Flats?

His summaries, clearly set out as debit and credit, are interspersed through the book. The factories, on the whole, impressed him as much as the housing disgusted him. He admits that there is a shortage of materials and transport, that money which should be spent on social services goes instead to national defence and finally that there is a waste of labour in State "showing-off." This last point was the one which struck me most in Russia, and I don't think he emphasises it enough. Take the garish Moscow subway. It would not be unfair to say that it has confined fifty thousand families to single rooms for another ten years. Two rooms and a few buses would have been more humane. And this same "showing-off" rather increases the gap between Russia and the outside world, for what Russia achieves is unique while what she fails to achieve or copy is bourgeois and not worth having. The ratio is not constant. The boastfulness is infuriating, the scorn wears thin.

The last fifty pages give a fair verdict and some promise for the future, also a short political analysis. No purpose can be served by the inclusion of Russian Communism in a "Democratic Front." Russia despises and undermines democracy, but democracy unilaterally must see that Russia works out her own salvation without invasion.

STORM FROM A TEASHOP

TEMPEST OVER MEXICO. By Rosa E. King. *Methuen.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

Reviewed by V. S. PRITCHETT

ONE of the minor effects of revolutionary upheaval abroad is to reveal the extraordinary number of unattached English ladies who somehow get tucked away every generation in remote places, living by a typing agency, a little *pension,* a teashop or some such precarious business. The average English commercial agent is notorious for his contempt and ignorance of the foreigner; but over and over again, one notices that these teashop and *pension* ladies, lovely and superficially timid, have grown eccentric roots into the country and often, in spite of themselves, are driven to an unusual intimacy with it. Miss Rosa E. King, who had an hotel in Cuernavaca and who went through the whole of the Mexican revolution, is typical of the best of these figures. She did not run away but clung to her little property because it was all she had in the world; in the end she lost it and her health. Yet she was not impoverished by the experience, for from the charming hostess of an Anglo-American colony who were enjoying without questioning the Mexico of Porfirio Diaz, she became, after the unsought adventures and sufferings of three decades, part of the country shrewd and sympathetic in her understanding of the people and their needs. When the Zapatistas drove her with the other terrified inhabitants from Cuernavaca, she realised what it was involuntarily to be a member of the oppressing class; she understood the inevitability of the revolution. Written simply and sincerely, her book is an extremely readable personal record and it also throws a very revealing light on some of the leading personalities of the revolutionary movement. Miss King knew Huerta and Madero well. They stayed in Cuernavaca and she saw their extraordinary loneliness in the world of assassination, espionage, intrigue and guerilla war going on around them. She saw Mexico gradually recover under Carranza and Calles.

The reader will note many parallels between things in the present Spanish situation and in the Mexican, for the psychological importance of the region with its family ties was as strong in Mexico as it is in Spain. Over and over again, as in Spain, it was the local situation, the personalities and centuries of oppression of the peasant which counted, more than this political doctrine or the other. Miss King's book should be read by all interested in Mexico in particular and in the phases of revolution in general.

SHORTER NOTICES

GARI-GARI. By Hugo Bernatzik. *Constable.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

THE strange title of the book is a desert greeting familiar in the Southern Sudan, with the tribes and animals of which the author deals in a pleasant narrative, illustrated by splendid photographs. "When God made the Sudan" runs an African saying, "He laughed." His laugh was happy, if the present condition of the remote people with whom this book deals be considered in comparison with that of more complicated states. Long may they continue as this book describes them: simple in their needs and aspirations. wisely governed.

PACIFIC RELATIONS. By Walter Gailey Hoffmann. *McGraw Hill.* 11*s.* 6*d.* *Illus.*

PACIFIC RELATIONS is a text book, the purpose of which is "to supply ready access to facts and material bearing directly on international relations in the Pacific." It is a comprehensive work dealing in turn with the interests of the various Powers in the Pacific and with conditions in the different countries.

Putnik

PICTURESQUE ŠIBENIK ON THE DALMATIAN COAST

Putnik

DUBROVNIK (RAGUSA) FROM THE AIR

Putnik

YUGOSLAV PEASANT WOMEN

Many different types are to be seen along the Dalmatian coast, where King Edward recently spent his yachting holiday

TRAVEL

We remind our readers that we are always glad to give advice on travel questions, and are in a position to obtain from the right quarters any information that may be required about tickets, hotels, etc.

BYZANTINE PILGRIMAGE

by RALPH PARKER

My last visit to Yugoslavia was for the rather specialised purpose of seeing the Byzantine monasteries of Old Serbia, which is the ancient medieval kingdom that at one time dominated the Balkans from cities lying in the tough, knotted, mountainous centre of the peninsula. It seemed as good a way as any other to get at the true nature of a land whose recent past has tended to obscure its real past. Moreover it drew us to parts of Yugoslavia which we would probably not have visited for any other reason. Beautiful as the Dalmatian Coast and its immediate hinterland are, it is in Old Serbia, uncomfortable, desolate, haunted, that the answer to most Balkan questions is to be found.

The journey, from the time we left Belgrade—that hot August afternoon, they were dancing a *hola* by the sandpits behind the station, a horse had fallen down and died in the sun outside the Cathedral, the train was full of peasant women carrying home their unsold geese, melons and paprika—to the time we came in sight of the Aegean, suddenly, the pilot waving back to us from the cockpit and shaping "La Mer" with his lips, the sun picking out the first autumn snow on the peaks of Olympus, and there below, Salonika, that worn, sophisticated city, pinned out on the brown, treeless country—that journey took six weeks. But another could do it in half or a quarter of that time, taking trains where we took mules, buses where we walked.

Our itinerary was simple enough, and to be recommended. The main line from Belgrade South station for some forty or fifty miles, then the new branch line that runs through Mitrovica and loops round to Skoplje, opening up the West Central part of the peninsula. This line we took because practically every town along it stands either at the entrance of a valley, which runs, narrowing sharply, directly into the Eastern flank of the great Alpine wall that bars Central Serbia from Dalmatia, or at a crossing of those ancient caravan routes that used to lead Greek and Venetian merchants through from Dubrovnik and Split to the East, and along which Peter the Hermit's crusade marched towards the Holy Land, and, more recently, the frozen columns of Serbia retreated, the one as heroic and as ill-fated as the other.

These routes brought us to the monasteries that were our objective. In them we found the principle element of true hospitality, which is a readiness to accept strangers without suspicion; the birth of Western painting, in the frescoes of Studenica and Pec; and a variety of strange foods and unwelcome bed companions. The same roads took us to villages where, as at Novi Pazar, Moslem Turks still live in pre-Kemal orthodoxy, and minarets still stand among the poplar

trees, precise punctuation marks in this indefinite country. They led us over uplands, past the sighing maize fields, to the stony country where the small hard pears grow, to the hill tops where the Bogumils, (Beloved of God) used to hold their heretical sun-worshipping ceremonies, and where the peasants now gather to watch Turkish wrestling. And they led us to Ochrida with its hundred monasteries beside the highest and loveliest lake in Europe.

To the traveller who wants a centre, somewhere to leave heavier luggage and to return to from short excursions, I recommend Skoplje. Known as Uskub under Turkish rule, Skoplje is the principle city of Southern Yugoslavia. It lies on the main line from Belgrade to Athens. Its population is very mixed, for it is an ancient trading centre. Here you will find Greek bankers, Turkish merchants, Bulgarians, Albanians, Spanish Jews, a large colony of gypsies, a garrison of Serbian soldiers commanded by the best dressed officers in Europe, and a seasoning of Armenians. And, if you are interested, you will observe just how the federal idea, that union of Southern Slavs that is implied in the word Yugoslavia, progresses in Macedonia, with its special problem of mixed nationalities. You will find good hotels in Skoplje, of the standard, say, of a commercial hotel in a small English industrial town; the food is as cosmopolitan as the population; and there are facilities for visiting the surrounding countryside, a district particularly rich in peasant craft.

As a conclusion to your journey in Old Serbia, let me recommend the aeroplane. For flight over the Balkans reveals the entire knotty complexity of the mountain system, and the way that the rivers strain towards the Mediterranean. To fly over country through which you have picked your way laboriously by mule and obsolete bus, is an excellent way of summarising, in one aerial panorama, the map of one's holiday.

THE SPORTSMEN

At Badu Island, off the northernmost tip of Australia, it has been found necessary to forbid the islanders to play marbles, their enthusiasm for that recently imported pastime having led to neglect of the fishing and shell-gathering on which their livelihood depends. A similar ban had to be laid on cricket some years ago in Tonga. Having learnt the game when at school in Maoriland, the late King Tubou II. introduced it among his subjects, and found cause for regret. Very soon he had to restrict play to one day a week to ward off the famine threatened by neglect of the plantations.—*Sydney Bulletin.*

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AND NOW OLYMPIA!

by CAPTAIN G. E. T. EYSTON

FIFTY-FOUR car manufacturers and concessionnaires will exhibit at the Motor Show which opens at Olympia in London on the fifteenth of this month. A round two dozen stands will be occupied by cars that are wholly foreign, partly assembled here, or Empire-built in Canada. No other Motor Show in the world can boast of such an international display—not Paris, where once the Salon was the world's greatest motor show; not Berlin, in spite of the remarkable development of the German motor industry in recent years; certainly not New York, where a foreign car is something of a novelty.

Many more foreign visitors than ever before will be present at Olympia this year. They will include trade representatives from over thirty countries of the world.

As I write, somewhat in advance of publication date, many makers' programmes are still incomplete. Several outstanding British cars are likely to remain secret until the very eve of the Show. Among foreign cars, I understand, there should be a number of last-minute surprises. Although a very representative range of American cars will be on view, not many of the latest 1937 models will be here in time, since the United States is itself in the throes of the change-over from 1936 to 1937, in readiness for New York's autumn show. Some of the new Canadian-built cars will, however, be on view. They are expected to create a good deal of interest on account of their dignified and beautiful lines.

Thirty British makers will be exhibiting. In spite of the decision by many of the leading companies to continue their existing ranges, there will, in fact, be a very great deal that is new to see at Olympia. Continuity has become rather a misleading catchword. It does *not* amount to stagnation and sameness.

As visitors to the Show will quickly realise, continuity takes many forms. Some cars, among them a popular small Eight, of which already 100,000 models have been sold, will be shown virtually unchanged for 1937. Yet, in spite of the fact that this car will be seen practically as it first appeared three Shows ago, I can safely predict that it will once again be surrounded by crowds from early morning till late at night. As the makers themselves remark: Why change when we cannot build existing models fast enough to meet demand?

Some Novelties

A new Fourteen forms an attractive addition to what has now become a very popular class of Light Sixes. In spite of the fact that some have been in production for several months, they are deservedly 1937 models, and are, in any case, appearing for the first time at Olympia. Two Fourteens introduced last summer have genuine five-seater accommodation.

One of the most striking technical features of the other Fourteen is its ventilation system. Draughtless air-conditioning changes the air inside the saloon once every minute, when the car is travelling at 30 miles an hour.

You will look in vain at Olympia for a popular 6-cylinder model which was one of the first of the Baby Sixes. Its place is taken today by a 4-cylinder model. On another stand you will find an entirely new car introduced this year, with a big 4-cylinder engine rated at no less than 14 h.p. This is a significant development revealing just how successful designers have been

in evolving vibrationless engine mounting. With vibration damped, there seems to be no reason why, in the smaller cars, we should not continue to use a 4-cylinder engine which, for technical reasons, has many claims to superiority over the ultra-small Six.

The cars at Olympia will be particularly rich this year in detail improvements. Chief among these I rank the new all-steel, flush-fitting sliding roof. The sliding roof is in itself a compromise. But in its fabric form, it has suffered from two further disadvantages—that it is constructed of relatively perishable material, and that it spoils the roof line. The new all-steel roof is as little prone to damage by weather and exposure as all-steel bodywork. It eliminates that ugly break in the roof line, and last but not least, it is finger-light to operate.

On one stand or another, visitors will discover many other instances of refinement—anatomical seating, better springing, dual windscreen-wipers and many more. I welcome these improvements all the more, perhaps, because they are not confined to one or two models, but are to be found on many models of many different makes.

JAZZING UP THE PYRAMIDS

ELECTRIC advertising space is going to be let on the Pyramids. This decision has been taken by the Ministry of the Interior, it is reported.—*Le Matin, Paris.*

IS SHE?

MODERN Ways of Indian Marriages. Is the Educated Girl a White Elephant?—Heading in "*The Indian,*" *Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.*

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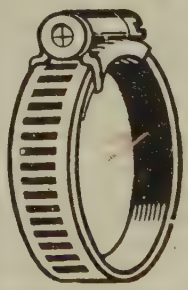

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THE WORLD OF FINANCE

HOPES AND FEARS

By "RAPIER"

I WAS moved last month to compose a poetical jeremiad on the economic state of the world in general. My experiences of the following month spent in travelling through Eastern Europe, with a short visit to Berlin on the way home, coupled with an exchange of views with other observers who have visited the same, and other parts of Europe have not tended to change my views.

Europe is more and more becoming an armed camp in which each State views the others with growing suspicion and attempts to become more and more self-sufficient economically. Of the leading Continental powers Germany seems to be the strongest economically, despite an acute shortage of foreign exchange, Italy the weakest, and France a bad second to Germany.

The burden of armaments presses ever more heavily upon national incomes depleted by the slowing up of international trade and the standard of life of all communities tends to fall. This gloomy outlook has been worsened by the cloud from the west in the form of the Spanish rebellion. This has already had its economic as well as its political reactions and has once again brought about a crisis in the French currency. At the time of writing M. Blum is still in the saddle and appears to have weathered the danger of an immediate fall of his Cabinet over the non-interventionist policy in the Spanish civil war. But the fate of the franc seems sealed. Ever increasing expenditure, of which another £50,000,000 on armaments this year in answer to Germany's conscription decree is the latest addition, coupled with declining revenue, appears to leave France only two alternatives. Either she must devalue the franc by 25 per cent. or more, or she must adopt a system of stringent control of foreign exchange and foreign trade on the lines of that now being operated in Germany. For the sake both of herself and of the rest of the world it is to be hoped that she will devalue. It is credibly reported that there is a growing body of opinion in the French Cabinet in favour of devaluation in spite of the earlier intransigent attitude of M. Blum to this alternative. At the same time it is believed that the persistent Communist activity in stirring up labour troubles is likely shortly to lead to a reaction of public opinion against this party, who are comparatively small in numbers. This might lead to a reconstitution of the Cabinet without Communist support and make it easier to bring in devaluation.

The Importance of Gold

Although the question of devaluation and gold reserves appears to be a technical one which is no concern of the general reader, and of which readers of financial articles must be surfeited, I think that it is of fundamental im-

portance both to the peace and prosperity of the world. If an increasing measure of prosperity can be brought to the world people will become more contented and less likely to embark upon wars.

Some interesting reflections upon this thesis are given in an article by Mr. J. M. Keynes in the current issue of the *Economic Journal* on the supply of gold and its probable influence upon trade revival. "The muse of History," says Mr. Keynes, "is ironically disposed. Communist efficiency in the extraction of gold may serve to sustain yet awhile the capitalist system." Perhaps it has hardly been recognised by the general public that Russia is now the second largest gold producer in the world after South Africa. This fact has not only had a great influence upon Russia's credit position, but is increasing the credit basis upon which the monetary systems of the world are still largely based despite the many suspensions of the gold standard since 1931. Mr. Keynes still pins his faith to cheap money as the best stimulus to trade revival, and in his opinion the abundant supplies of gold now coming forward means that the most important obstacle in the eyes of orthodox bankers, in the way of maintaining cheap money, is greatly diminished.

"But," adds Mr. Keynes, "the full effect of this influence is much delayed, partly by the postponement of the devaluation of the Gold Bloc, pending which no one can settle down, and partly by the inequality in the distribution of the gold . . . If, after the devaluation of the gold bloc, private hoards were to be dispersed, and if, in due course, Europe were to cash in its profits (or losses) in Wall Street in sufficient volume to cause a substantial outflow of gold from the United States, there might ensue an effect on the rate of interest throughout the world of an order of magnitude quite different from anything hitherto experienced." Perhaps there are too many "ifs" in this contention to satisfy the man in the street seeking safety and confidence, but on such slender threads are the hopes of the world today suspended.

TRUST OF BANK SHARES

THE Trust of Bank Shares has issued a report covering the first distribution period from the date of its formation in December 1935 to August 27 last, approximately eight months.

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AMERICA'S FIRST "RED"

THE *Detroit News* wonders why the Communists don't make more of the evidence that the son of "Eric the Red" was the original discoverer of North America.—*Louisville Courier-Journal, U.S.A.*

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We welcome correspondence from our readers on any subject connected with international affairs. Letters intended for publication should be as short and concise as possible.

SIR—May I congratulate you on your, or rather your great grandson's, article in the WORLD REVIEW? May I say that you appear to have a double portion of the spirit of your great predecessor, who I think I may call my friend, the late W. T. Stead?

On that fatal Bank Holiday in August, 1914, I went out with a petition against England's joining in the War. The first signature I obtained was that of the vicar. He said, "I preached about the danger of war last night. I will show you my manuscript." I took it home and spent most of the night answering it. His point was that God was angry with us as a nation for forgetting him, and was going to punish us. I replied that I did not believe a Father would punish his children by setting them to kill each other.

Now as to the Spanish war. Why not urge a truce and a fresh election under the League of Nations with an agreement by both sides to accept the result. If either side refuses, let them be treated in Christ's words as heathen and publicans.

Yours, etc.,
C. PITHER.

Hendford. September.

A JEW'S APPEAL

SIR—A Jew who, self-sacrificingly guarding his people and his property, arms himself with a weapon, is, even though he does not use it, punished with 5-7 years imprisonment, in the same way as the Arab bandits; so little right have the Jews to defend themselves in their own land. On the other hand, only part of those who incited the Arabs to their criminal acts have been arrested and put in concentration camps. With these bandits our spineless government carries on negotiations to the detriment of Jewish rights and immigration, while the bandits dictate their peace terms.

Yours, etc.,
EMIL KNOLL.

Tel-Aviv, September.

THE SICK MAN

In place of a "Letter to the Editor," a reader expresses her thoughts in verse.

GREAT BRITAIN lies and miserably sees
Her body ravaged by prolonged disease,
And round her all the politicians stand,
Like would-be doctors, keen to lend a hand.

The timid Tories, thinking themselves strong,
Won't take a step, for fear it might be wrong;
And Communists declare they are quite sure
That amputation is the only cure.

As mild solutions fail to have effect,
Perhaps more drastic measures are correct—
Some of the festering wounds of modern life
Need disinfectant, or the surgeon's knife.

When the pain comes, which all of us must feel,
Before such deep and septic wounds can heal,
May God show mercy on us, and enlist
A psychological anaesthetist.

C. B. S.

London. September.

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